DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 206 273 IR 009 528

AUTHOR Granzberg, Gary, Ed.; Steinbring, Jack, Ed.
TITLE Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada.
INSTITUTION Winnipeg Univ. (Manitoba).
PUB DATE 80
NOTE 635p.

EDRS PRICE MF03/PC26 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *American Indians; *Canada Natives; Cross Cultural Studies; Economic Research; Ethnography; Foreign Countries; Longitudinal Studies; Psychological Studies; Questionnaires; Tables (Data); Television Surveys; *Television Viewing

ABSTRACT

This study is a controlled longitudinal analysis of the impact and meaning of television among Algonkian Indians of central Canada which incorporates eight years of extensive participant observation field work and objective social and psychological testing in the pre- and post-television periods. The impact of television is discussed in terms of stress and modernization, and it is argued that positive and negative television inputs in these areas are heavily conditioned by meanings derived from analogies between television and certain cultural traditions, which promoted exaggerated copying, identification, and trust in TV characters on the part of naive viewers. A report of the ethnographic findings resulting from long term field work in three Algonkian communities reviews the impact and meaning of television in these communities as revealed in field observations and interviews. Findings based on psychological and sociological tests, economic sales records, video tape experimentation, and questionnaire opinion surveys are also reported, and the final section provides a review of the work and its implications, clarifying some of the issues in telecommunication policy for developing areas and making some recommendations. A study of the relationship between music associated with a TV show and its appeal to an Ojibwa audience is appended. (CHC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED206273

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

TELEVISION AND THE CANADIAN INDIAN

Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada

Edited by

Gary Granzberg
University of Winnipeg

Jack Steinbring
University of Winnipeg

University of Winnipeg

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

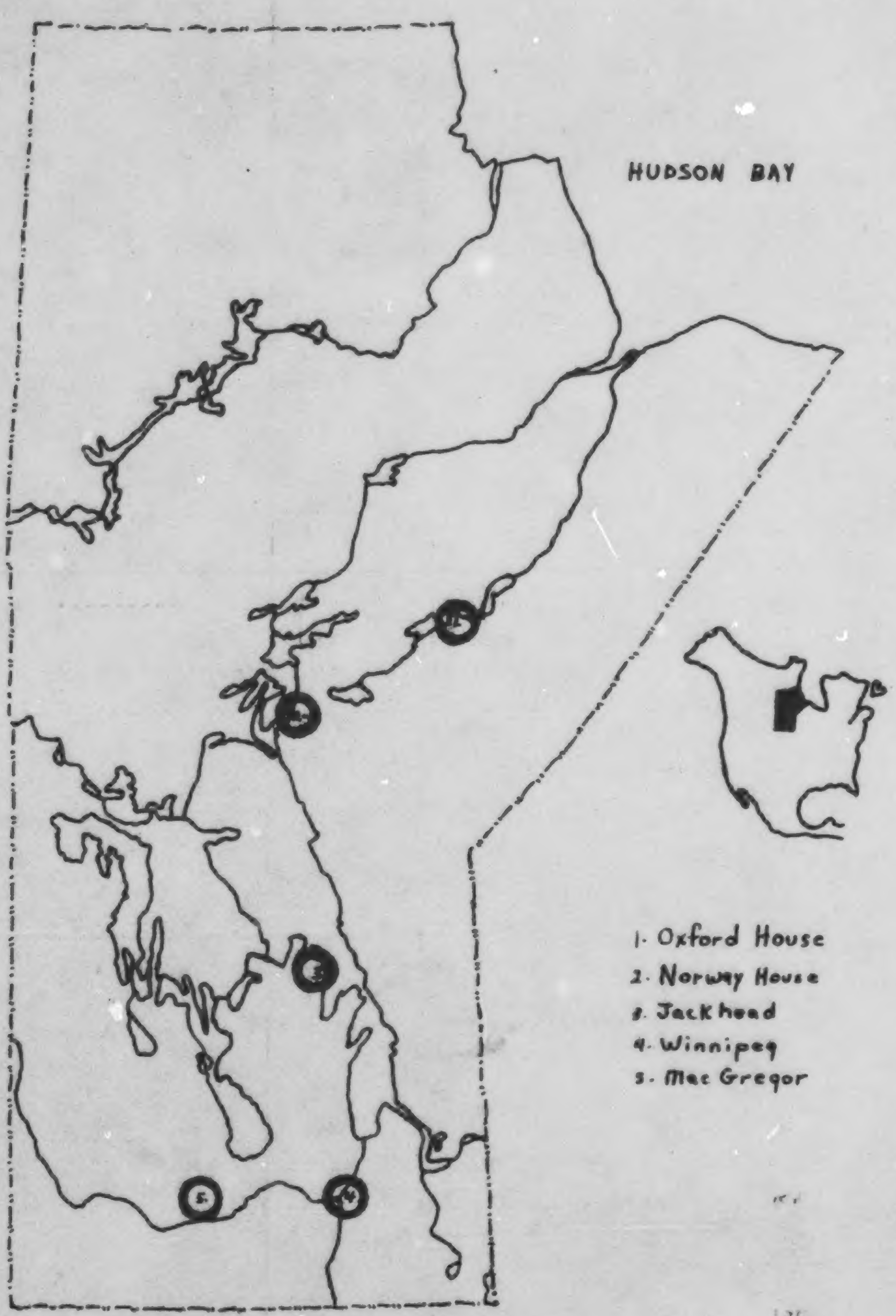
1980

Crown Copyrights reserved
"Canadian Department of Communications
Regulation 1053"

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Gary Granzberg

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

IR009528



MANITOBA

Adapted from Map by A.P. Buchner

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the CBC, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and the Department of Communications, especially Ian Ironside, Allan Simpson and Shelagh M'Gonigle, for their support and good advice. I am especially grateful to Jack Steinbring for hours of wise counsel and friendship and I wish to thank John Hamer for his far sighted contribution in the founding and structuring of the project. A thanks to Chris Hanks for his good work and support and to Nancy Hanks for her skillful and attractive statistical work and for hours of volunteered assistance. A special bow to Janet Cameron for her fine-honed skills and patience. I would like to acknowledge the beautifully organized statistical work of Lorna Woods which helped so much in the study of ethnic stereotyping, and the pages of highly sensitive notes compiled by Tim Forrest. I want to thank Cecil Pereira for his well organized analysis of the sociological material. I wish to thank Gil Becker and Kay Stone for many fine suggestions. And I greatly appreciate the full support received from the University of Winnipeg, especially Herb McMullin and his staff in the comptrolling office. I would like to pay special tribute to Nathaniel Queskekapow for his hours of patient teaching, and issue a heartfelt thanks to the Norway House people for their forbearance and kind understanding. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Mary Ann, for her concern, for her suggestions, and for her generous donation of time and typing skill.

Gary Granzberg,
April, 1980

Table of Contents

Forward By John Hamer vi

Preface By Gary Granzberg vii

Part I Summary of the Project
by Gary Granzberg

Chapter 1 Summary of the Literature on Television in Developing Areas - Derivation of Basic Thesis and Goals of the Project
by Gary Granzberg 2

Chapter 2 The Meanings and Uses of Television Among Algonkians
by Gary Granzberg 22

Chapter 3 The Impact of Television Among Algonkians of Central Canada
by Gary Granzberg 38

Chapter 4 Explanation of Impact and Meaning of Television Among Algonkians
by Gary Granzberg 54

Chapter 5 Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations
by Gary Granzberg 66

Part II Presentation of Ethnographic, Participant Observation Data
by Gary Granzberg, Jack Steinbring and Christopher Hanks

Chapter 6 The Introduction of Television into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community: A Study of Meanings, Uses and Effects
by Gary Granzberg 77

Chapter 7 Television on the Jackhead Indian Reserve: 1969-1980
by Jack Steinbring 182

Chapter 8 Television and the Impact of the Euro-Canadian Economy and Technology upon Cree Enculturation
by Christopher Hanks 261

Chapter 9 Television Among the Oxford House Cree
by Christopher Hanks 296

Table of Contents - page 2

Part III — Presentation of Questionnaire Data
by Gary Granzberg, Cecil Pereira, Christopher Hanks and Nancy Hanks

Chapter 10 — The Psychological Impact of Television Among Algonkians of Central Canada
by Gary Granzberg 321

Chapter 11 — When Television Invades Remote Northern Communities
by Cecil Pereira 360

Chapter 12 — Use of Video Tape in Cross-Cultural Television Research: Phase II "The Muppets"
by Christopher Hanks and Gary Granzberg 407

Chapter 13 — An Economic Analysis of the Effect of Television Upon Consumer Buying Trends in the Northern Native Communities
by Nancy Hanks 444

Chapter 14 — Telecommunication and Changes Among Cree Students
by Cecil Pereira 512

Part IV — Conclusions and Recommendations
by Jack Steinbring

Chapter 15 — Conclusions and Recommendations
by Jack Steinbring 574

Appendix — Saulteaux Ethnomusicology and the Background Music of T.V. Soap Operas: A Cognitive Study of T.V. Adoption in a Manitoba Reserve
by Sally Davidson 585

FORWARD

This study concerns the effects of television on three Algonkian speaking communities in northern Manitoba. It is one of the few longitudinal studies of response to innovation in which the authors were able to study the effects of television at the time of installation, or shortly after, and observe the consequences over a period of several years.

In recent years there have been a number of questions raised about the negative impact of television on audiences in all parts of the world. Generally, these misgivings have dealt with audience manipulation. First, there is the problem that the media as a technological device so distorts reality that it misleads the viewing audience. But to film events and people as they are is likely to bore the viewers who are unable to participate in the media happenings. The alternative has been to seek to hold attention by making situations and people more than real, through various audio and photographic manipulations.

Secondly, the content of programming has been contrived to create and maintain audience interest through emphasis on the unusual in human existence, such as sex, violence, and incessant change. In North America this manipulation has been directed not only to enlivening of program, but to perpetuating the dominant values of consumerism through commercial advertising.

With these shortcomings in mind the writer of this forward and the authors began in the fall of 1972 to plan and organize a program of research for studying the impact of television on Cree and Saultaux communities. We knew that the device had only recently been installed, or was about to be installed on several reserves. What would be the impact of this intrusion on cultures whose peoples have been relatively remote from the life style of southern consumerism, where traditionally there has been a great deal of reticence in interpersonal relations so as to avoid violence, and where sexuality was mentionable in only certain prescribed relations of social interaction?

What follows provides interesting and enlightening answers to these questions, in addition to raising new and important issues, as the result of seven years of participant observation, interviewing, and analyzing voluminous data. The work is a contribution to psychological Anthropology as well as to the theory of socio-cultural change. Moreover, and perhaps of greater importance, this research endeavor should provide a practical guide to Native people and various levels of the Canadian Government in making policy decisions regarding the future use of television.

John Hamer
Birmingham, Alabama

PREFACE

Goals, Methods and Theory

This book summarizes seven years of effort at documenting the impact and meaning of television in Algonkian communities of Central Canada. It incorporates longitudinal material collected before and after television arrived in a target Cree community and in a control Cree community. This material consists of four independent measures of impact:

1) ethnographic assessment by live-in anthropologists
2) psychological assessment through projective testing
3) sociological assessment through questionnaires
4) economic assessment through Hudson Bay sales records

As well, video tape studies and surveys of opinion are incorporated and also comparative material from a Euro-Canadian community and a Saulteaux community.

This book will show that television has tremendous strength as a modernizing force in Algonkian communities because of certain key Algonkian cultural traditions which augment the credibility and the attractiveness of television hero figures. This book will also show that television's modernization impacts are a mixed blessing. There is increased ability to participate in mainstream Canadian life but also increased stress and culture loss.

Finally it will be shown that the levels of modernization and stress are heavily conditioned by differing conditions in Native communities with regard to solidarity and intergration. Solidarity in families or in whole communities permits the effective initiation of conservative forces which can, to a degree, counteract television's disruptive potentials.

The overall theory which has guided our work and which is documented in the pages to follow is that the impact of television is heavily conditioned by the uses and meanings to which television is put and that the uses and meanings of television are significantly shaped by the culture of the viewing audience -- most especially by traditions of communication, traditions of Western Man, television literacy, psychological propensity for abstraction, community solidarity and various taboos.

Purpose of the Four Parts of the Book

1. Part I, the summary, attempts to summarize our study under a few basic conceptions. It summarizes the impact of television according to the two perspectives of stress and modernization and demonstrates that positive and negative television inputs in these areas are heavily conditioned by meanings derived from

analogies between television and conjuring, dreaming, and storytelling which focus usage in the areas of knowing the future, finding practical guidance in life, interpreting television as symbol and metaphor, and being wary of television's capacity for corrupting children and stealing away the traditional foundations of life.

2. Part II, ethnographic findings, presents the results of long term field work in three Algonkian communities. It reviews the impact and meaning of television in these communities as revealed in field observations and interviews.

3. Part III, questionnaire findings, presents our objective measures of impact and meaning. It presents findings based on psychological and sociological tests, economic sales records, video tape experimentation and questionnaire opinion surveys.

4. Part IV, conclusions and recommendations, presents a final review of our work and its implications. It clarifies some of the issues in telecommunication policy for developing areas and makes some recommendations.

PART I

SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT

by

Gary Granzberg

CHAPTER 1

SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE ON TELEVISION IN DEVELOPING AREAS -- DERIVATION OF BASIC THESIS AND GOALS OF THE PROJECT

by

Gary Granzberg

CHAPTER 1

SUMMARY OF LITERATURE ON TELEVISION IN DEVELOPING AREAS (DERIVATION OF BASIC THESIS AND BASIC GOALS OF THE PROJECT).

A Review of the Literature

Our study of the impact and meaning of television among Algonkians of Northern Manitoba began in 1972 when there was little world experience to fall back upon as a guide for analyzing the impact of television in a non-Western Native community. Indeed, the impact of television in the United States and other urban and/or Western areas was a lively research subject. But television had just begun to spread across the globe into India, Africa, Asia, Australia, South America and northern Canada and, hence, theories of television impact were heavily biased toward reflecting the Western experience.

Our study was aimed at abating that bias in television research and, though ours perhaps was one of the deepest probing in this regard, it was one of many that had that goal. These studies in expanding the data base of cross cultural television impact studies, provided researchers with a greater awareness of the role of culture in shaping television's impact and were the impetus behind a surge of studies which attempted to correct the biases in theory which had arisen due to the limited cultural variability that had previously existed in the data base. The new research began to demonstrate how theories had depended too much upon unlineal models of development (Schramm, Eisenstadt) and upon mechanical effect models in which television content was given too great a role as an all pervasive shaper of malleable audiences.

With the expanded cross-cultural data base, it became clear that cultural characteristics within the audience had to be taken into account before adequate analyses and predictions were possible. It became clear that television was not the magical modernization vehicle of administrative dreams.

Unforseen barriers to development, which lay hidden at the core of non-Western culture, were now emerging. Researchers began to isolate these problem areas. They described a number of facets of non-Western culture which stood in conflict with the Western model of television and which had to be accommodated before the new medium could be converted to effective non-Western use.

A survey of this literature enables us to identify nine key factors. These are:

1. Need for public television
2. Heterogenous social patterns and language
3. Television illiteracy
4. Negative expectations for Western man and his technology
5. Certain taboos
6. Active traditions of personalized communication through storytelling, drama and conjuring
7. Social-Communal interests
8. Non-lineal time orientation
9. Concrete-pragmatic orientation

A capsalized summary of each of these areas of conflict between non-Western culture and Western television follows:

1. Need for Public and Local Programming

One of the foremost factors in the minds of government administrators is commercial vs. public television. This is because the choice largely determines the extent to which foreign ideas, due to presence of foreign-made television shows, enters the country. This problem emerges because the goals of commercial television are very different from those of public television. Commercial television largely serves the status quo (Wells 1972; Hurley 1974:683; Cassirer 1974:15). Its aim is to sell products and, to do so, it uses television as a come-on to draw an audience for viewing commercials.

Big business pays for such television and is not served by programs that are boring or which may introduce elements that undermine private business.

On the other hand, most developing countries are concerned about equality of opportunity, about developing education and national solidarity, and about equal access to resources. These goals are not served by programming developed by the funding agencies in big business.

And yet, the government take-over of television programming for public service is a very difficult and economically expensive enterprise. The cheapest programs are available from the United States and other countries who have a great storage vault of already-created, readily available, entertaining programs. It is almost twice as expensive for a country to make their own (Katz 1977:115). Most countries have therefore striven to introduce public, educational shows, and, as well, localized ethnicized shows as supplements to the foreign shows that are so economical as to be almost irresistible. Thus far, by and large, developing countries have not been able to overcome their inexperience, lack of funds, and lack of knowhow so as to be able to develop a full-scale set of programs that would fully serve their stated goals of modernization, maintenance of traditions, solidarity and education.

As a result, Western shows are frequently broadcast into the villages, cities, and homes of developing peoples and serve often as a set of foreign ideas that are a thorn in the side of administrators whose interest is to preserve local traditions and an independence from the voracious forces of Western television.

The problem they have to overcome to develop local Native programs that will best serve modernizing interests are very great. They include great heterogeneity in geography, social patterns, language and tradition, television illiteracy, negative expectations about machines and Western man, and taboos. In addition, the new model must incorporate interests in non-lineal time, practical concreteness, communalism and expectations derived from traditional methods of communication. The task is a difficult one, but it is aided by a rapidly clearing picture of the various problem areas that are to be confronted.

Heterogeneous Social Patterns and Language

Most developing areas face a great task in attempting to develop national pride and identity. The country is almost always built up of very disparate units with differing language and customs. The administration hopes that television may serve as a common bond and a force for common identity. But there are numerous difficulties to be surmounted. How can a commonly-understood language be utilized? There is often no one language that all understand.

Many governments (India, Senegal, Guam, Samoa) attempt to solve this problem by sending an educational program through the air which teaches everyone one basic language, usually the prime language used in administration, often English or French. In addition, some try to develop several versions of a show in differing local languages (e.g. the SITE project of India).

Further complicating the situation is the fact that the national language may often be seen by locals as the language of the elite, of school (Kehoe 1975:14-15), of missionaries, or of domination. The elite, on the other hand, may react negatively to the education on television. They may see it as a challenge to their power which is based largely on control of the administrative language and on control of information. The "haves" may see television as a power threat while the "have nots" may see TV as external interference (Eapen 1979:108-109).

3. Television Illiteracy

Another problem to be overcome is television illiteracy (Rahmen 1974:69). The ability to properly interpret moving pictures on the television screen is not innate. It must be learned. Children may, for example, believe that the figures in television are real - - that there are real little people inside (Caron 1979:151). They may be unable to keep up with the fast-paced shifting of scenes (Rahman 1974:69; Cassirer 1974:21). Cree people complain of what they interpret as speeded-up hockey on television (Hanks 1980: 286).

There is a propensity to be overly-gullible about television (Esselin 1970:210-211). There is little knowledge about how the programs are made or where. The people may believe they are seeing real events in current time when, in fact, they are watching an old, outdated war movie. Cree are confused about the reality of the roles played by television hero figures. McGarret of Hawaii Five-O is believed by many to be a real detective in Hawaii. Space shows are thought by some to depict real life scenes in outer space. Tarzan is felt to be a real man (Granzberg 1979: 34-35).

A healthy skepticism towards television is something that must be taught to many of the people in developing areas.

4. Negative Expectations for Western Man and his Technology.

Many developing areas have had negative experience with Western Man. They have been dominated and made subservient by the strength of his technology. They come to distrust the West and machines that are derived from the West (Foster 1962: 125-126; Rahman 1974:71). An observer of television in Africa notes that the African ". . . was not prepared for 'handing children over to machines'" (Kouyate 1978:40). Many Cree actually feel a physical danger from the television machine. They are afraid it will explode if dropped or if struck by lightning, and they fear harm to children's eyesight. Everywhere in developing countries there is a fear that television may erode traditional culture (Caron 1979; Granzberg 1979: 14-29; Katz 1977: 113-114). They are wary and especially fearful of the harm that may be done to children. Television may be viewed as a symbol of domination and enslaved status. This would be especially true if local groups had no choice in the acceptance or rejection of television (Alaskan Office of Telecommunications 1975: 221-222).

5. Taboos.

The conflict between television and local traditions of taboo is most blatant where usage of Western programming is most extreme, for Western programming contains a series of subjects which are generally or intermittently taboo to developing peoples.

One generally tabooed subject portrayed on television is the glorification of novelty, change, and abnormality (Cazeneuve 1974). Developing areas contain traditional local cultures which focus upon traditions and authority and replication of patterns (Reisman 1950: 11-12; Dorothy Lee 1949). Change and novelty are not welcomed. Children are trained for compliance and responsibility, not individuality and assertion (Berry 1959). Western television, on the other hand, is a glorification of the spectacular, the incredible, and the novel. News shows headline crime and disruption. Dramas feature aggression and confrontation (very rigorously controlled behaviour in most non-Western systems). Television "Stars" are provocative, bold and aggressive. They would likely be classed as "witches" in many non-Western cultures. Perhaps this is one reason why some Cree choose to compare television to sorcery (Granzberg 1979: 27-29, and 1977: 157).

Perhaps less widely shared and yet of frequent occurrence are a whole series of taboos concerning segregation of the sexes, including separate eating areas, isolation of menstruating women and women giving birth, restrictions on overt sexuality involving kissing, hugging and nudity, and restrictions upon women's presence at political and religious events. In addition there may be taboos about food and portrayal of the face and especially the eyes (Worth and Adair 1972: King 1967: 73). There may be concern about eating meat (Eapen 1979), or killing certain animals (for example the Sacred Cow of India). There may be taboos about speaking the name of deceased people, about the use of right vs. left hand, and even about the time of year when stories may be told. The variation on what is considered taboo or sacred is great and conflict between local and non-Western conceptions and television usages are inevitable. A developing country faces a great task in shaping television programs so that the local audience will be informed about television's reality and will not find the programs unintelligible, distasteful and/or fearful.

6. Traditions of Communication.

Many researchers in the field of cross-cultural communication (Ugboajah 1979; Katz 1977: 118; Mathur 1978:38; Cobin 1969:170; Cassirer 1974:22; Granzberg 1977) have stressed that effective television programming for developing areas requires the incorporation of local traditions of communication. They stress the fact that, traditionally, public news was often obtained from specialized individuals who had institutionalized ceremonial methods of presenting information, who combined the talents of spiritual sensitivity, music and drama, who were held in high esteem and who not only gave practical current news but moral precepts and even divinatory revelations. Such individuals were the storytellers, shamen, seers, orators, singers, talking chiefs, actors and folk opera players of their communities.

The researchers maintain that in order for television to be most effective it must couch its messages in the traditional framework associated with such individuals. Ugboajah, for example, says that in Africa there is a widespread tradition of the village gong man as News Announcer. He says (1979:43-44): ". . .the sounding of his gong signalled an upcoming announcement. This village 'announcer' exemplifies some of the primary attributes of traditional African communication .... Because broadcasting has failed to establish an inter-dependence between the traditions of the villagers and the new technology, its effectiveness has been minimal".

Katz (1977: 114) says that some countries have understood the need to incorporate local communications traditions. He says (1979:118) that Peru uses old legends to teach concepts of integration, that Thailand utilizes the traditional shadow play, dance theatre, and puppetteering, and that Mexico uses the popular pocket companion romance novel as the framework for "tele-novellas" (Latinized soap operas) which not only entertain with a good love story, but also, at the same time, give important information about critical periods of Mexican history.

Cobin adds another example. He describes how Japan has taken very popular traditional theatre play, transferred it to television, and continued to employ this traditional method of communication to inform and entertain its audiences. Cobin adds that this not only provides more effective communication, but also serves as a means of preserving traditions even while massive technical changes are in process (Cobin 1969: 170).

But more than mere cosmetic alterations of programming to give them the look of traditional communication techniques is needed. Programmers must realize that a much more thorough re-vamping of the Western model is required. This is clear when we consider the storytelling traditions of non-Western peoples.

Because of the absence of books and writing in most traditional non-Western systems, stories were developed as shortcut, memory-aid devices by which key philosophic traditions could be preserved. Each key word or action in the story was a symbolic reference to larger and more enduring ideas and showed how these ideas were to be related and understood (Granzberg 1978). This approach to information is behind the symbolism contained in our Bible stories (which were once unwritten legends) and is the deeper meaning behind the entertaining trickster (Creator) legends that are found throughout the non-Western world.

But whereas the West has developed writing and libraries and consequently has found it unnecessary to preserve the focal role once given over to storytellers, the non-West has not. They still train children to interpret the metaphor and symbol in stories and they still, to a much greater extent than is the case in the West, use proverbs and metaphors in daily conversation. Consequently when a non-Westerner views a television show, a dramatic story for example, he often seeks to understand the deeper metaphorical meaning which he has been habituated to expect. But, in most cases, such meanings are not present in Western television, and hence not only is a key opportunity for communication missed, but unintended messages may be conveyed.

A case in point is a Cree man's interpretation of the Waltons television show (Granzberg 1979:45): "The Walton family - there's one I'm in favour with. It's about this family who lives on the land...in the country. The old man didn't want to change. He fights the change. But then he went into the city for the first time and he accepted it. They used to cut their own lumber and live off the land. Pretty soon there's this construction. They want to put a highway across this man's land. He fought it. Even with guns. But finally they did it. He had to learn. The past ... the recent ... and then what's going to happen. That's like some people here. There were some people here who didn't want any construction - not even a hospital. They had to learn".

This man was perplexed by a fantasy show called Lost Island, however. "I can't figure that one out", he complained.

Another example is found in the Cree's response to the Muppets. A surprizingly large number do not like this show.[*] One factor in this is the metaphorical meanings they attach to frogs and bears. The frog and bear symbolize sorcery (Granzberg 1979:43) and stand as metaphors for cold and harsh human relationships. Kermit's presence as host of the show prompted one woman to say, "Frog is not the most beautiful host. The show is ridiculous". Another added, "People might begin to treat each other like puppets".

It seems, then, that people apply expectations derived from traditional concepts of communication onto television and that unless these usages are understood, great problems in television programming may exist. Analogies between television and the perspective of sacred talking chiefs and seers may cause viewers to be far too trusting in what is said; analogies between television and storytelling may cause viewers to seek out symbolic messages and revelations about the future; and as among the Cree, analogies between television and traditions of communication through conjuring, soulflight and dreaming (Granzberg 1977) may cause viewers to become quite concerned about the safety of inexperienced children whose television induced nightmares take on the proportions of sorcery.

---

[*] A similar negative reaction to the Muppets, centered around evil connotations associated with the frog, is reported by Gil Cardinal (personal communication) for the plains Cree of Alberta.

7. Social Communal Interests

Many observers (Kouyate 1978; Schramm and Lerner 1976:142; Harrison and Eckman 1976:107; Ugboajah 1979:42) have commented upon the great (from Western standards) social-communal interest of developing people. They note close spacing, lots of touching, large families, emphasis on sharing, reciprocity and egalitarianism, intense concern to figure out people, and reliance upon friends and kin for all manner of practical necessities including news, protection, education, subsistence, marriage and spirituality.

The implications of this for the development of effective television programming, especially with reference to educational television, are spelled out clearly by Kouyate (1978). He says that the African's emphasis on community and peer in traditional education can and should be incorporated in the educational television experience by means of peer teaching procedures (1978:44-46). "It is a fact that the principles of peer teaching are very much in tune with the traditions of African society .... peer teaching means the educational independence of the developing world".

He says that peer teaching procedures would alleviate an acute shortage of teachers and would make television messages more meaningful because they would be filtered through the personal communication framework that is customary.

The incorporation of peer discussion groups into the television model is widely recommended and in fact has been broadly implemented with some very observable effectiveness. It has been used in Africa (Cassirer 1974:17); in Alaska (Alaskan Telecommunication Office 1975); France, Japan, India (Borra 1970);

Brazil (Marchi and Brunswick 1977:12-13); China (Schramm and Lerner 1976); rural Canada (Cassirer 1974:17); and has even been shown to be effective in controlled laboratory experimentation (Swanson and Henderson 1977).

Non-Lineal Time

Differing conceptions and usages of time in the non-West as compared to the West have been widely noted in the literature (Boaz 1938: 125-126; Lee 1950; Cassirer 1974:21; Granzberg 1977; Foster 1962:66-67). When a society is dependent upon nature and cannot dominate it, its time is dictated by natural clocks not artificial manmade clocks and, as well, its cycles of activity are largely repetitive and pattern-oriented. There is no line of time which is manifest by a series of changing-developing events which we call History. Time is non-lineal, as Lee has observed, and it is conditioned by external factors which focus interest upon pattern and system rather than hours and seconds.

As a result, life in the non-West seems slower-paced. People are tuned to process and pattern. They are patient to allow the process to develop in proper sequence. They do not hurry to a climax point. They recognize an equal importance in the first stage of the sequence as in the last.

As a consequence television is seen by developing peoples as too fast-paced - too many quick-flashing movements of scene and camera - too little concentration upon detail -too little development of story line or of characters.

Cassirer's comments relative to African television are cogent (1974:21) ". . . the concept of time among the African people is not the same as that of Western man. Africans enjoy the tam tam for hours, or listen to the storyteller and folk singer, to the griot, who spins out his endless sing-song tale, whereas Western-minded producers or critics, who have little empathy with traditional forms of expression, may be quickly bored. It is even questionable whether the 'excessive' talkativeness of television programs was as tiring for the audience as it was repugnant to the television professional. In a civilization of oral tradition, long-winded explanations may be a good deal more acceptable than in the fast-paced Western world: time-conscious producers have even been accused of seeking to bend the people to the machine".

Concrete-Pragmatic Orientation

Perhaps equal to non-lineality as a characteristic non-Western pattern is concrete-pragmatism (Munroe 1975). Non-Westerners stress detail memory and concrete example as problem-solving strategies. This contrasts with the typical urban, non-Western strategy of employing abstraction, generalization and principle to the task of developing a store of effective behaviours in the face of life's problems. The difference in strategy, in part, derives from the differing stability of behaviour patterns in the two systems.

In the urban system, behaviour patterns are constantly changing. Detailed strategies, specific skills, habitual sights and sounds quickly are out of date and out of touch with current needs. Obsolescence is a chronic problem. The city dweller has learned to deal with this problem by applying abstract general principles.

On the other hand, the non-Western man in his stable system (or recently stable system) learns to memorize particular solutions to particular problems in life. This strategy suffices because particular problems repeat themselves each new generation.

The traditional orientation to concrete-pragmatism, as applied to television, develops a tendency to look for concrete and practical relevance in programming. As Cassirer (1974:22) has put it Entertainment for the sake of entertainment is rather resented".

This resentment of abstract, pure entertainment in developing areas is not only conditioned by concrete-situational psychological propensity but, as well, by the models of traditional communication through storytelling and drama (Cobin 1969:179; Mathur 1978:36). Traditional storytelling, as an influential prototype of how news and information should be presented, demonstrates a highly developed art of blending education, entertainment and information into a very attractive package. A sheer fantasy story with no relevance to practical needs was largely unknown. There were always metaphorical meanings that provided the concrete education that always went along with the entertaining story. There were no separate myths for sheer entertainment and others for sheer education. And yet with respect to television such indeed is the case.

Thus there is a tendency to resist or even resent the sheer abstract, entertainment-oriented programs on television. And perhaps this is another factor, along with traditional metaphorical meanings for animals, behind the Cree's rejection of the Muppets. They probably cannot see its relevance. It's just too fantastic.

SUMMARY

The modern literature stresses that the impact and meaning of television is not only conditioned by the nature of television's content (the more traditional concern) but also by the nature of the culture of the people viewing television (the more recent concern). It posits differing impact according to differing meanings and usages created by differing cultural traditions in psychological propensity, religious belief, social structure, and communication.

The content variables emphasized are mainly local vs Western-made programs. The cultural variables emphasized are pragmatism in psychology, story-telling traditions of communication, social solidarity, and wariness toward the West and toward Western technology and television.

The literature focuses upon how these variables produce variable levels of stress and/or modernization. It suggests that stress is reduced by local programming in local languages and by incorporating local cultural traditions, especially traditions of communication and pragmatic psychological preferences. It suggests that the modernization goals of government in developing areas are helped by local programming and endangered by the use of Western programs. It maintains that the choice is largely based on how television is to be financed. If by private business, then Western programs are used. If by government or university, then less Western programming develops. Economics play a role here, for it is far cheaper to buy ready-made Western programs.

The literature also suggests that the modernization aims of government are best produced by the use of television discussion groups organized and incorporated with government planning. And the literature displays a consensus of opinion that effective television programming for developing areas requires a much greater sensitivity to local conditions than has previously been the case.

Goals and Thesis of Project

Our study serves as a concrete example of how the above listed factors shape television impact in a non-Western system. It demonstrates the meanings and uses of television produced by these factors and documents the impacts they generate.

Our study hopefully will serve as a firm exemplification of the principle that television audiences cannot be conceived as malleable, shapeless masses that are totally at the mercy of television content and which can be effectively ignored in television impact theory and policy making. This study makes the point that pluralistic programming sensitized to local cultural dynamics is the best means for effectively communicating with Native peoples. It is hoped that we are moved a step closer to that goal by the material here compiled.

References Cited

Alaskan Telecommunications Office
1975
ATS-6 Health-Education Telecommunications Experiment, Vol.1. Office of Governor: State of Alaska.

Barry, H., M. Bacon and I.Child
1959
"Relation of child training to subsistence economy". American Anthropologist, 61: 51-63.

Boas, Franz
1938
Mind of Primitive Man. New York:Macmillan.

Borra, Ranjan
1970
"Communication through Television UNESCO Adult Education Experiments in France, Japan, and India". Journal of Communication 20(1):65-83.

Caron, Andre H.
1979
"First Time Exposure to Television: Effects on Inuits Children's Cultural Images". Communications Research 6 (2): 135-154.

Cassirer, Henry
1974
Mass Media in an African Context: An Evaluation of Senegal's Pilot Project. Paris: UNESCO.

Cazeneuve, Jean
1974
"Television and the Human Condition". Communication 1(2): 197-211.

Cobin, Martin
1969
"Traditional Theatre and Modern Television in Japan". Educational Theatre Journal 2 (2): 156-170.

Eapen, K. E.
1979
"The Cultural Component of SITE". Journal of Communication 29 (4): 106-113.

Eisenstadt, S. N.
1976
"The Changing Vision of Modernization and Development". In *Communication and Change the Last Ten Years - and the Next*. W. Schramm and D. Lerner eds., pp. 31-44. Honolulu University Press of Hawaii.

Esslin, Martin
1970
"Television: Mass Demand and Quality". Impact of Science on Society 20(3): 207-218.

Foster, George
1962
Traditional Cultures. New York: Harper & Bros.

Granzberg, Gary
1976
"A Comparison of Children's Values: Traditional Cree, Acculturated Cree, Euro-Canadian". In *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference*. William Cowan, ed. pp.312-322. Ottawa: Carleton University.

Granzberg, Gary (continued) 1978	"A Cree Example of the Revelational Meanings of Symbols in Myth". Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology Viii (2,3,4,): 3-8.
1979	"The Introduction of Television into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community: Some Reflections Upon its Meanings, its uses, and its Effects". In The Impact and Meaning of Television among Native Communities in Northern Manitoba. J. H. Steinbring, Gary Granzberg, et al., eds., pp.3-55. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.
Granzberg, Gary, J. Hamer and J. H. Steinbring 1977	"New Magic for Old: Television in Cree Society". Journal of Communication 27(4): 154-157.
Hallowell, Irving 1955	Culture and Experience. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Hanks, Christopher 1980	"Television and the Impact of the Euro-Canadian Economy and Technology upon Cree Enculturation" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada, Winnipeg, University of Winnipeg.
Harrison, Randall & Paul Ekman 1976	"Television's Lost Frontier: South Africa". Journal of Communication 26(1): 102-109.
Hurley, Neil 1974	"Chilean TV: A Case Study of Political Communication". Journalism Quarterly 51 (4): 683-689.
Katz, Elihu 1977	"Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?". Journal of Communications 27(2): 113-121.
Kehoe, Monika 1975	"Language and Politics in Guam and Micronesia". Paper presented to TESOL Conference, Los Angeles, March 9.
King, A. Richard 1967	School at Mopass: A Problem of Identity New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
Kouyate, Maurice 1978	"The Teacher Shortage and Peer Teaching in Africa". Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education 8(1): 33-46.

Lee, Dorothy
1949 "Being and Value in a Primitive Culture", Journal of Philosophy 46(13): 401-415.

1950 "Codifications of Reality: Lineal and Non-Lineal". Psychsomatic Medicine 12: 89-97.

Marchl, Herbert & Etienne Brunswick
1977 "Educational Television in Developing Countries". Educational Media International 2:9-13.

Mathur, J.C.
1978 "The Use of Audio-Visual Media for the Education of Adults". Indian Journal of Adult Education 39 (5-6):35-40.

Munroe, Robert and Ruth Munroe
1975 *Cross-Cultural Human Development*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole.

Rahman, Saulat
1974 "Technology and Communications: An Indian Experience". ASBPAE Journal 9 (½):65-73.

Riesman, David, R. Denney and N. Glazer
1950 *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schramm, Wilbur
1976 "End of an Old Paradigm?" In *Communication and Change The Last Ten Years - and the Next*. W. Schramm and D. Lerner eds., pp. 45-48. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Schramm, Wilbur and Daniel Lerner
1976 *Communication and Change The Last Ten Years - and the Next*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Spindler, George
1958 "Research Design and Ojibwa Personality Persistence". American Anthropologist 60:934-937.

Swanson, Rosemary and R. W. Henderson
1977 "Effects of Televised Modeling and Active Participation on Rule Governed Question Production among Native American Preschool Children",Contemporary Educational Psychology 2(4):345-352.

Ugboajah, Frank Okwu
1979 "Developing Indigenous Communication in Nigeria". Journal of Communication 29 (4):40-45.

Wells, Allan
1972
Picture-Tube Imperialism? The Impact of U. S. Television on Latin America. Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books.

Worth, Sol and John Adair
1972
"Navajo Filmmakers". American Anthropologist 74:9-34.

CHAPTER 2

THE MEANINGS AND USES OF TELEVISION AMONG ALGONKIANS

by

Gary Granzberg

CHAPTER 2

MEANINGS AND USAGES OF TELEVISION

In this chapter we shall use the Algonkian case to review how certain key factors of non-Western culture may be in conflict with Western television and/or may create meanings and uses which vary either in degree or in quality from the meanings and uses which predominate in the typical Western case.

The Relevance of Classic Anthropological Diffusion Theory

Anthropologists have long recognized the fact that a material object can mean many different things to different people and they have developed a theory of diffusion to explain this. They recognize that when an alien object enters a society, its meaning and function, if not its form, often change to more closely agree with existing cultural traditions. Hoebel puts it this way (1958, p.602):

> "Every spreading trait ... as it moves from one society to another must face the test of its acceptability in the culture of the receiving people; and if it is accepted, it is invariably reworked either in form, use, meaning, or function. No people take an alien trait without altering it to some degree".

The fundamental insight contained in this dictum is the realization that objects, no matter how commonplace, do not have meanings intrinsically attached to them. A car, axe, mirror, wrist watch, tree, stone, or television, for example, do not have meanings given by the objects themselves and which are absolutely and inalienably associated with them but rather are given variable and fluid meanings by the cultural traditions in which they find themselves.

In the case of television, it would have value, in just about every society, as an object which provides a window on the world. But, in addition, highly variable values and meanings, perhaps derived from varying traditions of communication and storytelling, varying conceptions of Western Man, and varying conditions of life, may overlay this universal baseline and create very divergent overall meanings for television.

Television in Algonkian society as contrasted with television in Euro-Canadian society, serves as an example. Among Algonkians, meanings and usages of television have arisen which would be considered unusual or unique according to Euro-Canadian standards. These meanings and usages are described below according to the traditions within Algonkian culture from which they are derived.

Algonkian Materiality and Television

Two factors in the traditional Algonkian approach to material entities influence their television usage. These are a highly-developed pragmatism based upon immediacy of needs and an equally well-developed pattern of sharing.

To the Algonkian, the entire material universe existed as a complex of resources readily exploitable by all. A few uncomplicated rules of supernatural governance served to check excesses, but the overall design was predicated upon individual resourcefulness and, in the man-nature equation, immediacy. Proper enculturation and socialization yielded a person capable of meeting any exigency in a mobile and variable environment. Exploitation, the essence of environmental (and thus material) behaviour was thus characterized by unique events. Continuity and generalization would in this system be dangerous impediments. Fixity, brought on by such a rationale, would serve ultimately to prevent the free execution of artful acts of unique responses to human need and to the constantly changing material universe.

A graphic example of this uniquely Algonkian materialism may be given in this case of an elderly informant's construction of a birch bark drinking cup while on a trip in the bush. The old man needed a cup. He drew his knife and cut a piece of bark from a nearby tree. He then deftly folded it into the shape of a small box. The whole operation took less than one minute. The drinking cup, which was completely watertight and held about a quart, was promptly discarded after lunch. It would have been dysfunctional to keep the cup, to carry it with us in the bush. It would have been cumbersome, awkward, and could very well have interfered with gun handling. Conceivably, a shot might have been missed through carrying it along. The Western mode of materiality is acquisitive, value-oriented, and features maintenance. Now, it becomes easier to explain the difficulty that Algonkians often have with concepts of maintenance - the derelict tractors and farm machinery, failures in animal husbandry, great reluctance to regularize as in school or work routines. Thousands of years of process have created an internal balance in thought, belief, and action which does not submit easily to external pressures.

Algonkian patterns of television maintenance are understandable within this overall pattern of Algonkian materialism. Initially sets in road-connected communities were bought second-hand, and bounced back to reserves along many miles of rough road. Not infrequently, these sets failed to function when first installed. Eventually, after discarding sets, families came to buy brand new ones as a matter of course. Even these, however, gave difficulties since the written instructions were imperfectly understood. At times, adequately operating sets were abandoned because the controls were incorrectly manipulated because dealers would not honour a warranty after the jolting road trip or because power had been temporarily lost. In a four-year period, some families had as many as six sets.

Sharing is also a core element in the adaptive sociology of Algonkians. It ensured survival in a sometimes marginal environment. With respect to initial experiences with television, traditions of sharing brought on a situation in which most every one who was a neighbour or friend or relative felt free to come and go at any hour to see television. This initial viewing pattern caused the early owner of television to lose sleep and privacy, and, as well, any stock of food in the house. Some owners reacted by moving away for a while, or temporarily disconnecting their sets.

Algonkian Child-Rearing and Television

Algonkian child-rearing is characterized by great permissiveness and indulgence. This is felt by authorities to enhance independence and self-reliance in the traditional hunting culture. The pattern persists, despite many changes in the culture.

Children in the Algonkian families of this study are rarely punished, and their actions are not restricted. They receive all the material advantages that their parents (and grandparents) can provide them. How this indulgence becomes translated into problems with electronic hardware is through the unrestrictive manipulation of sets, both through extensive use and adjustment. The cultural rationalizations for this indulgence, which often have supernatural connotations, prevent adults from harshly restraining the children from turning sets on and off and playing with the various controls.

While this has undoubtedly had an effect upon the functioning of television sets, its most dramatic influence has been in connection with the use of telephones. Receivers are lifted off their hooks, played with, and left dangling - sometimes for hours. Those capable of dialling sometimes get long distance numbers, again leaving receivers off after the connection is made. These problems, of course, must be worked out by the people themselves. The values which lie behind the conflicting behaviour are identity-sustaining, and to relinquish them in favour of adopting externally inspired material traits becomes a threatening and stressful contradiction. More often television was exploited for the service of already-established needs and values. One instance of this was the use of television as a solution for non-directed means of keeping children home at night. It was played up as an entertainment device for children - - as a "movie" at home. It did, for a time, prove effective in this task.

Algonkian Conjuring and Television

When television entered Algonkian society and was seen to provide the service of live, long-distance communication, there was a natural tendency to generalize the uses and meanings associated with traditional live, long-distance communication devices onto television. This tendency was solidified by the fact that the Native word applied by the people to television was the word which meant shaking tent (in Cree, koosapachigan). Not only is this usage found in Manitoba Cree communities, it is also found among Ojibwa peoples (Steinbring, personal communication) and among Cree of other provinces (Preston, personal communication).

The shaking tent was not the only conjuring reference point from which television meanings were derived, television was also said to be like dreaming and like mica mirror conjuring. One woman told about how her old uncle once used a mica mirror to determine the whereabouts of a family that was awaited. "The cracks in the mica acted as a map and showed the location of the family", she said. "The shaman saw things in the shiny mica just like in television". Similar usage of animal shoulder blades charred and cracked in fire occurred.

A most critical point to be noted about these traditional devices that acted like television (e.g., shaking tent, dreams and mica mirrors) is that they were capable of uses that television is not capable of, at least not according to Western perspectives on television. Thus, for example, in the case of the shaking tent, in addition to being a long-distance communication device, it also could be used to steal the souls of people, especially children, and make them die or act crazy. It could be used to tell the future. It could provide access to supernatural hero-helper figures. And, unlike television, it could provide personally meaningful individualized communication services as, for example, allowing someone to speak to his brother living hundreds of miles away, or allowing someone to discover his own personal prospects for the future.

Thus it can be seen that the traditional Algonkian conception of devices which provide the service of live long-distance communication contain meanings which differ considerably from the meanings contained in the Western conception of such devices. Therefore, in accordance with our anthropological understanding of the nature of diffusion, when the object we call television entered Algonkian society and was seen to perform a function (that of providing long-distance communication) which was similar to that provided by certain traditional devices, there was a natural tendency to expect, or beware of, the possibility that the new communication device was similar to the old ones in other respects as well.

The traditionals (who were most aware of these traditional communication devices) were the ones who were most concerned about these other uses to which long-distance communication devices may be put, and were the main ones who, in fact, concluded that indeed such additional uses were in effect with television and were responsible for much of the behaviour, some good and much bad, which they noted accompanied the introduction of television. On the negative side, they concluded that television was being used to steal people's minds and make people crazy and dependent (especially children). On the positive side, they concluded that television could be used to obtain personally meaningful messages, both about the future and about current events in other places. Algonkian concepts of Western Man spurred the negative associations with television while their concepts of storytelling served to enhance and solidify the positive views.

Algonkian Concepts of Western Man and Television

The "White Man" is a "wonderful person" traditionals are heard to exclaim. Their usage of "wonderful" here refers to the more archaic quality of the word as magical, or full of wonder. He is very clever.

But he is also very dangerous. His magic is not in balance with Nature. He uses evil power - - a power based on the exploitation and domination of Nature rather than a balanced oneness with Nature.

Many traditional narratives and legends depict this very negative conception of Western Man and his technology and these help fuel beliefs among traditionals that the sorcery component of traditional communication devices is an operable analogy to be applied to television. For in his view Western Man is functionally equivalent to a sorcerer, and his television, with which he tries to steal people's minds and cause harm, is functionally equivalent to a sorcerer's shaking tent.

Algonkian Sorcery and Television

A series of well-circulated stories, perhaps more apocryphal than actual, served to further substantiate the traditional's conception of television as an evil mind-stealing device. One story is about a boy who hated to be without his television: "This boy loved television so much", it was explained, "that when he had to leave on a trip, he turned to his television and said 'Goodbye, God'". Another story tells how an older parent who remembered well his experiences in the bush when a young man, and who wanted to expose his own young son to the pleasures of bush life, took his son off one weekend for a camping trip, and that night when he and his son were bedding down, the boy exclaimed "I want to go home and watch Bugs Bunny". And one frequently hears the following lament against children: "When I ask them to do something, they always say 'Wait til the television show is over'".

Traditionals fear television's impact on the child for the same reason they fear the shaking tent's potential harm to children. Traditionals know that children do not understand the fictional qualities of television - that they take it too literally. The child is too immature to be able to handle it. They make this point through the following narratives:

One man tells of how he had been to Winnipeg during a rain storm. Two inches had fallen but traffic was running smoothly. Then, when he returned to his reserve by air that evening and turned on the news, he said he saw pictures of cars stopped in flooded streets. "That's when I found out that television can lie", he explained.

The same man told about how children saw a cartoon which visually depicted the saying "It's raining cats and dogs" by showing cats and dogs falling from the sky. Afterwards they came to him and asked, "Where do cats and dogs come from?" He told them, "Don't let television fool you, it's only a story. They come from their mothers, not from the sky".

Cazeneuve's views further explain the rationale behind the sorcery analogy for television. He feels that television is the modern ritual for solving the basic paradox in the human condition of order and disorder. It's solution, unlike the traditional one, is to glorify abnormality and accident. This is a solution suitable to needs of urban life - where change must be viewed as good. In contrast, among traditionals with their sacred solution of the problem by means of myth and taboo, change and the abnormal are bad, and people who deal in those matters are sorcerers. Hence, sorcery and television are analogous (Cazeneuve 1974).

Algonkian Storytelling and Television

In traditional Algonkian society, as in most non-literate societies, three factors operate to propel the story into prominence as a teaching revelational and culture-preserving mechanism. These are the fact that there are no books and no sophisticated means of preserving ideas on surfaces outside of people's minds; the fact that people require great freedom and flexibility to adjust to nature and, as a result, are careful to be non-interfering and non-authoritarian in their relationships; and the fact that there is a decided tendency to explain through the postulation of supernatural hidden forces and, as a result, to more generally view the world as built up from transformations and to contain numerous transformable objects, like witches, which cannot be understood unless the essence behind the surface is revealed.

When it comes to the educational needs of a society, we find that where these three factors are operable the story becomes an ideal educational device. It is short and entertaining and, as a result, easily remembered. And since, without books, memory aids are important, it can be of service if its characters and plots are shaped in such a way as to be symbols and metaphors for very deep, complex and intricate ideas. And this is readily accomplished in a society well conditioned to seek hidden meanings in objects and events and well practiced in metaphorical imagery. Furthermore, as a metaphorical, revelational entity, it can teach indirectly and gently. There need be no authoritarian instruction. The legends can be told for their entertainment value and then more lasting lessons can be left for the child to discover by himself when he experiences events that remind him of the legend.

When these traditional conceptions of the story are applied to television which, indeed, is now the most important storyteller in Algonkian society, the traditional is conditioned to seek out important teachings and revelations in television programs.

As an example of this, one traditional Cree gave the following interpretation of the "teachings" contained in the Walton's television show:

> "It is just like here. The people live off the land, make things from the forest to trade, hunt, fish and garden, and haul firewood. And there is a road they're trying to put through and the people are trying to fight it, just like here. And there is someone writing a book about it".

As with dream interpretation, the content of the program was made personally relevant and probed for clues as to how to face the future. The man himself had been collecting ethnographic material on his own community and therefore saw the personal relevance of the television show. From his observations of television and his travels to the south he predicts that there will be tall buildings, police, lazy people, and even craziness in the future. "People will be walking around with no place to sleep or eat. There will be no friends to take you in. You will wander around with no job, no skill, and you will die".

The Conception of Television Among the Acculturated

There is an acculturated faction, which consists largely of youth, Metis and the well-educated, who disagree with many aspects of the traditional view of the world. These people pride themselves on their knowledge of English and of the Western ways and they strive mightily to resist stereo-types of them as uneducated, superstitious, ignorant Indians. They consider it an affront if it is suggested that the basic framework of their thought is not the same as that of the Euro-Canadian. They therefore disagree with statements by the traditionals that television is just a stolen idea from the old Cree culture. They view it as something entirely different from the old beliefs about shaking tents, mica mirrors and dreams.

They react to suggestions that there are such similarities as if it is an accusation that they do not understand what television really is. They will be quick to point out that they are quite well aware that television does not work by spirits or by sorcery or by dreams, and that they know very well that the images in it are not real. They know how television shows are made and how camera tricks are accomplished, and how the whole thing is basically Hollywood sham and fiction. By and large, they do not see any insidious plot in television nor any threat to their children. They may even express satisfaction at the idea that television is causing kids to be more open and aggressive. They feel that the traditional person has been too shy and passive and afraid of people and that this has allowed the government to get away with too much. They are not afraid to speak up and say what they feel. They use television largely for entertainment and for something to do when bored and they also like to learn from it about how others live. They do not use the Cree word for shaking tent to refer to television, they just call it "TV", in fact they often use English rather than Cree in the home.

The Conception of Television Among Those in Between

The conceptions of the traditionals and the acculturated, as pictured above, are by-and-large extreme, pure models which in fact in every respect fit only a few real Algonkians. Most are somewhere in between. They believe in some facets of the traditional culture and also in some aspects of the new acculturated view of things. They live simultaneously in both worlds.

They sometimes trust and sometimes distrust Western Man. They think television is a good and wonderful gift from Western Man and that it relieves boredom and provides fine educational opportunity. But, at the same time, they realize that it causes problems in aggression, sex, and laziness in children. "You must not take television literally", they will say, "but if you think about it and understand its shortcomings, it's o.k.". Television is not a rape of the Native mind but it may very well be a bit out of proper balance with nature. There is an uneasiness that the world maybe wasn't meant to be manipulated quite that way. They believe that, in the old days, some old people had wondrous powers. But they don't believe anyone has such power any more. But they're not fully convinced of this. Maybe there are people in more isolated reserves who still have such power, or maybe a few old men in their own community. Their ambivalence here is marked by the fact that they worry about insulting old people lest they are caused to become ill or to have bad luck. They also pay close attention to dreams and feel they can contain important messages.

By and large, they do not articulate any conception of the relation of television to old ways of communicating but the old ideas are known and probably have unconscious effects on their opinions and usages. They perhaps produce a diffuse anxiety especially when mixed with half-formulated, not fully remembered, or fully conscious, ideas about souls, imitative magic, photography, mirrors, shaking tents and dreams.

They are not fully aware of the extent of fiction in television and tend to believe what they see rather uncritically. They often have trouble determining if a movie depicts real events which contain scenes of the actual original people who lived the events or if the events are fictional and made by actors who never really lived them.

The Conception of Television Among Algonkian Children

Among Algonkian children, television is a vast new adventure which reveals the Western Man's world in an intimacy that they have never before seen. They are very curious about this world, envious of it, and anxious to fantasize about it and copy it.

The Algonkian child's proneness to copy television, to identify with its super heroes, and to largely fail in distinguishing its reality and fantasy, may not simply be the result of geographic isolation, the inexperience and natural curiosity of childhood, or a typical child's need for identity. These are factors, but they are factors whose influence is exacerbated by an identity-weak reserve setting, by traditions which exalt identity change, and by concepts of shaking tents, dreams and imitative magic which expand television's role as an agent of identity change and reality (see pages 139-143).

Television as an escape

The children like excitement on television. They like adventure, fear, danger, aggression and laughter. These things call up their macho interests and make them forget about the confusions of the real world. Life on the reserve can be boring. Alcohol is one relief. This was put very succinctly one evening by a young Native man holding up a bottle of Seagram to the author and stating, "This is excitement. Life here is boring. But this is excitement". Television is another relief. However it should be here noted that our surveys do not indicate any heavier usage for the Algonkian than for Euro-Canadians. They both average 4 hours per day. In fact, among the Algonkian, there are a significant number,albeit a minority, who profess strong Pentecostal beliefs and who decry television as a great evil and who refuse to watch it or, in some cases, even have it in their homes.

Television as baby sitter

Parents are very concerned about their children being out unchaperoned at night experimenting with new ideas. Lacking their child's respect and being insecure and jealous of each other and the school over the child's loyalty, they cannot keep him at home out of danger through reasoning nor do they wish to chance alienating the child through strong discipline. They therefore have turned to television as a magnet to attract the child and keep him home and they feel that television has functioned fairly successfully in that capacity.

Television as an aid in face-to-face communication

In the past, commonly shared bush experiences and folklore served as meaningful analogies to facilitate communication. Children and adults continually refer to things they have seen on television to explain themselves. The researcher was asking once about traditional kinship terms and was told that the father's brother was called nokommees but that informally he was known as Wisacatjik. When the researcher questioned further he was told "It's like the Odd Couple on Television". From that it was understood that the relationship between ego and his father's brother was one of teasing and joking.

Nicknaming according to television heroes is another communication aid. One researcher was called "the professor" from a character on Gilligan's Island and teachers are also given appropriate television character names which reveal much about their behaviour traits.

In addition, television situations help explain the meaning of English words and thus help children use English more effectively. Sesame Street is thought to be very helpful in this regard. It provides understandable pictures to accompany words. Although the mesh between pictures and words is probably at its highest in Sesame Street, it is a general benefit that all television programs provide.

Teachers have found that television references help them to teach English. One Fifth Grade teacher mentioned the program The Collaborators and said that he was able to teach the meaning of the word "collaborate" and also of the word "laboratory" by referring to that program.

Before television the little dirt road running around the community was called a highway. It still is, but having seen freeway chase scenes on television, the people now have a better appreciation of the word.

Summary

In sum, then, Algonkian traditions of conjuring, storytelling, materiality and child-rearing, along with factionalized concepts of Western Man and acculturation pressures of reserve life, combine to produce perceptions and usages of television which are unique according to Western standards. In the next chapter we shall trace the influence of these interpretations and others upon Cree programming likes and dislikes. And in the succeeding chapter, we shall follow through to trace the role these Cree traditions play in shaping the social and psychological impacts of television.

REFERENCES

Cazeneuve, Jean
1974
"Television and the Human Condition". Communication 1 (2): 197-211.

Hoebel, E. Adamson
1958
Man in the Primitive World, New York, McGraw Hill.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION AMONG ALGONKIANS OF CENTRAL CANADA

by

Gary Granzberg

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION AMONG ALGONKIANS OF CENTRAL CANADA

INTRODUCTION

According to the literature, the major focus of television impact studies is modernization and stress. Researchers sometimes stress one or the other but they largely agree that to varying extent you can't have modernization without stress.

Our study therefore concentrated upon certain variables of modernization and stress and utilized a longitudinal methodology and a multiple number of measurement techniques. Within the general variable of modernization we chose to measure a number of variables that indicated the extent to which Algonkian behaviour was more closely parallelling Euro behaviour and the extent to which greater out-group identity was occurring. We measured (1) preferences for Native vs. Euro as role modelling choices (2) information about the out-group and feelings of Canadian citizenship (3) style of responding to questions (4) abstracting vs. concrete situational behaviour in concepts of time, delay of gratification and body concepts (5) open vs. closed self-concept (6) level of economic consumption (7) level of aspirations for education (8) amount of English used in the home and (9) overall traditionalism. Within the general variable of stress we chose to study: (1) fear of victimization (2) aggression values and (3) the projection of negative feelings into human relationships.

METHODOLOGY

We chose to utilize a longitudinal design with several control elements. We chose a target experimental community (Norway House) and a baseline control community (Oxford House). We tested these communities before television arrived, one and a half years after television arrived in the target community but not in the control community and four years after television had arrived in the target community and still not yet in the control community. We then tested the control community a fourth time one and a half years after it had finally obtained television. We supplemented our controls by testing Euro-Canadians (Winnipeg) with twenty years of prior exposure to television and by testing a Native community (Jackhead) which at the start of our study already had five years of prior exposure to television.

In addition, we divided subjects into hi- and lo- exposed categories and observed the extent to which this within-community exposure to television data coincided with data which represented the difference between unexposed and exposed communities.

In collecting our data, we employed psychological projective tests, sociological questionnaires, Hudson Bay sales records, and field observations and interviews conducted by anthropologists trained in in-depth long-range ethnological procedures.

In the presentation of findings which follows, the findings are listed according to the data collection procedure employed and, as well, scoring procedures are outlined as each variable is presented.

MODERNIZATION FINDINGS

A. Evidence From Psychological Testing

1. Preference for Native vs. Euro as role models

instruments and scoring

Subjects were individually shown twelve pictures all on one page. The pictures were of male and female adults of caucasoid, negroid, and Indian heritage. Subjects were then asked the following questions:

1. Let's pretend that one of these people is a bad person who has captured another person. Then a good person comes to save the one who has been captured.
   (a) Who is the bad person?
   (b) Who is the good person?
   (c) Who is saved?

2. If we were to pretend that some of these people are villains who want to kill somebody, who are the villains?

3. Who are the ones who are killed by the villains?

The answers to these questions were then tabulated according to the percentage of time subjects chose in-group or out-group to fill the various fantasy roles.

results

There is decided evidence of increasing out-group identity at the experimental community after the arrival of television, and the effect seems to repeat itself at the control community after it received television. The category that is most effected (i.e. where in-group identity falls the most and out-group identity increases the most) is the category of the hero or good person and it is the caucasian, not the black, who rises the most in this category at the expense of the Native.

2. Information about out-group

instruments and scoring

Scoring is based upon responses to the questions which follow:

(i) What is a Canadian?
(ii) What is Canada?
(iii) Do you live in Canada?
(iv) Is your community in Canada?
(v) Is Canada in your community?
(vi) Are you a Canadian?

High out-group identity and high information about out-group is scored when, in question 1, subjects identify the word "Canadian" as a reference to citizenship rather than to a hockey team, a beer, a non-Indian, or a power figure (like RCMP); when, in question 2, they give some meaningful definition of "Canada", as for example "a country", "land where Canadians live", rather than saying "I don't know" or making an erroneous statement like "a province in Manitoba"; when they answer "yes", "yes" and "no" respectively to questions 3, 4 and 5; and when they identify themselves as a Canadian in question 6.

results

Relative to the control group, the experimental group exhibits a modest increase in information about the out-group. The data further suggest that the effect may be repeating itself in the control community after it received television.

A breakdown of the responses to question 1 (What is a Canadian?") shows some interesting evidence of the nature of the gain in information about the out-group that is occurring.

Relative to the control community, the experimental community improved its original tendency to consider a beer, hockey player, or authority figure as the most relevant definition of "What is a Canadian". While the control group showed an overall improvement of 28% in identity with out-group, the experimental community improved by 64%. When television entered the control community, it improved its out-group identity by 47%.

3. Style of responding to questions

instruments and scoring

Responses by the experimental and control communities to 39 sentence completion items in our questionnaire were tabulated to determine, for each community, the percent of subjects who responded to items in the way that was most popular among a reference group of same age Euro-Canadians.

results

There is no indication that the experimental group, relative to the control group, has become more similar to the out-group in responding to questions after the arrival of television. Nor is there any indication of a modernizing effect at the control community after it received television.

4. Similarity to out-group in abstraction behavior

Cree traditionally focused upon concrete-situational orientations to the problems of the world (Granzberg 1976). In a stable system memory and detail serves well as a frame of reference. In a changing system, however, such as that found in urban, industrialized society, reliance upon memory, detail and concrete pre-arranged solutions to problems is disadvantageous, for adjustment entails versatile adaptability. It requires a person able to adjust to ways of making a living which, perhaps, were never even conceived of by the parental generation. In this situation, general-abstract solutions are more efficient than concrete situation-specific solutions. Hence out-group identity might be revealed in an increasing use of generalized-abstract orientations to the world (Munroe).

There were four measures:
(I) Short vs. long range orientation. The tendency to complete an ambiguous thought with reference to short range or long range goals.
(II) Particularity of body conception. The tendency to refer to a part of the body rather than the body as a whole when reference to the body is made.
(III) Delay of gratification. The ability to delay gratification and to wait for a large reward rather than selecting the alternative of a smaller but more immediate reward.
(IV) Timing accuracy. The ability to accurately estimate a pre-determined length of time.

a. short versus long-range orientation

instruments and scoring

Scores were derived from responses to three ambiguous uncompleted sentences which could be completed either by reference to long range goals or to short range goals. The three sentence completion items were:

(1) "The man wanted to shoot a moose, but he couldn't find any, so he ...?"
(2) "A boy was walking in the bush and then he came to a stream. What did he do then?"
(3) "The man wanted to chop some more wood but it was starting to get dark so he ...?"

results

Relative to the control group, there was increasing short range orientation at the experimental community, especially among the hi-exposed and especially in the novelty period after the arrival of television. There is evidence of a similar result at the control community after it received television.

b. particularity of body conception

instruments and scoring

Scores were derived from responses to the question "The man was sick because ...?" Responses which referred to a part of the body which was afflicted (e.g. ..."he broke his leg") rather than an overall disease (..."he had a cold") were scored as particularistic responses.

results

There are no effects discernible in the data.

c. delay of gratification ability

instruments and scoring

Upon completion of testing, subjects were told that they could have a candy bar as a reward. They were given the option of taking one candy bar immediately or waiting a week and then having two candy bars.

results

There is a consistent cross-sectional difference between hi- and lo-exposed subjects. Hi-exposed subjects at all three testings are more likely to take one bar right away than lo-exposed subjects. No television effects are discernible.

d. timing accuracy

instruments and scoring

Subjects were asked to estimate a 30-second span of time. Their accuracy was measured by a stop watch.

results

The data suggests that lo-exposed may be better at estimating a pre-set span of time than hi-exposed. No television effects are discernible.

Summary of data concerning television effects upon abstraction

Television seems to act as a catalyst upon previously present concrete or general tendencies. Where the tendency is toward concreteness (as among hi-exposed subjects) television increases those tendencies, but where orientation may be more general-abstract, more toward control of emotion (as among lo-exposed subjects) television seems to increase those trends. This is consistent with other research (especially aggression research) shich shows that television may act as a catalyst for pre-set emotional states.

5. Open versus closed self concept

Traditionally, Cree were closed and stoic. One interpretation (Preston) of this is in terms of economics. It is held to be an efficient stance to take when there is constant necessity to deal with potentially fear provoking, incapacitating dangers or accidents while on the hunt or in other domains of activity in a food gathering society. A comparison of open vs. closed self concepts in two Cree communities and a Euro-Canadian community (Thorlakson P.87) shows that the Euro-Canadian community is more open than the Cree communities. Modernization, therefore, should consist of more open self concepts.

instruments and scoring

Self concept scores were derived from analysis of drawings subjects made when asked to draw a man. The scoring system is analyzed in detail in our second report (Thorlakson, pp. 80-85). In essence, open self concept is scored when drawings depict detail, when they are large, and when they are frontal and centered.

results

Only novelty period data are available. They suggest that television may have modestly increased open self concept. Whereas the experimental group's scores became 14% more open, the control group's scores get 8% more open.

B. Evidence From Sociological Questionnaire

1. Level of occupational and educational aspirations

A questionnaire assessing educational and occupational aspirations (Pereira 1980) as well as other variables was administered in 1973 and in 1978 to all 7th, 8th and 9th Graders in the target and control communities. In 1973, both communities lacked television. In 1978 the target community had television for five years and the control community had television for one year.

Three questions assessed educational and occupational aspirations. One asked what grade the subject aspired to. Another asked what grade he thought people in general should aspire to, and the third asked what occupation he wanted to attain.

Aspirations beyond high school and beyond hunting, fishing and trapping, for example trade occupations, indicated high aspirations.

In 1973 61% of the target community had high aspirations while 60% at the control community had high aspirations. In 1978 75% at the target community had high aspirations while 57% had high aspirations at the control community. Thus, there was a gain in high education and occupational aspiration at the target community of 14% while there was a loss of 3% in high educational and occupational aspirations at the control community.

An interim and identical test of aspirations in 1975 in the same grades showed that the target community (which had been viewing television for about a year) had risen in high aspiration by 8% while the control community (which, as yet, had no exposure to television) had risen in high aspiration by 6%.

Thus the data indicates that although television has increased aspirations at the target community, its arrival in the control community may have had the opposite effect.

2. Use of English in the home

Questionnaire data (Pereira 1980) compiled in the years 1973, 1975 and 1978 show decided evidence of increased use of English in the home after the arrival of television.

Between 1973 and 1975 the target community (which received television in late 1973) increased its use of

English in the home from 13% to 21%. In contrast, the control community (which did not obtain television during that period) only increased its use of English in the home from 7% to 8%.

Between 1975 and 1978 the target community continued its increasing use of English in the home from 21% to 41%. Over the same period the control community (having obtained television in the summer of 1977) increased its use of English in the home rather dramatically from 8% to 29%.

3. Overall traditionalism

The overall questionnaire assessed the amount of traditionalism in each community by obtaining indications of family integration, religious practice, educational and occupational aspirations, and frequency of radio listening. In all cases, except for religious practice, the target community showed increasing non-traditional practices when its pre and post television scores are compared to the control community. This means that, relative to the control community, the target community's family integration went down, its educational and occupational aspirations went up, and its radio listening went up.

Although the radio listening effect is attributable to the recent introduction of a locally operated radio station, the modernization effects in family integration and educational and occupational aspirations seem to be real. The explanation of why religious practices in the target community did not also show modernization along with everything else is probably due to the nature of Pentacostalism, which is scored in the questionnaire as a non-traditional practice.

In fact, as is discussed in chapters 4 and 7, Pentacostalism is probably the denomination of Christianity which draws the most traditional Native people. The control community, it will be seen, reacted to the threat of television by a Pentacostal based resistance. Their "non-traditionalism" then was in fact an attempt to preserve traditional styles of life.

C. Evidence From Hudson's Bay Sales Records

A study of consumerism patterns before and after the arrival of television (N. Hanks 1980) indicates considerable increases in the purchase of items that may represent an attempt by the people to make their behaviour more closely parallel that of city people. There is increased purchase of household beautification and cleaning items, personal beauty aids, dry pre-sweetened cereal, TV dinners and other quick foods, and health aids.

D. Evidence From Participant Observation Field Work and Interviewing

Field observations corroborate data collected by questionnaire and projective testing. After the arrival of television, children were seen to more frequently take Euro hero figures as role models (C. Hanks 1980:316, Granzberg 1980:118-119). A kung fu series produced a wave of karate behaviour. Olympic telecasts from Montreal produced a lengthy period during which young adults turned their yards into makeshift training centers for the practice of such events as weight lifting (using a pole and two car wheels) and pole vaulting (two upright poles, one across, and a car seat for landing). The "Fonz" of "Happy Days" became very popular and children talked to each other with phrases such as "sit on it" and "woe". The "Welcome Back Kotter" series caused one class of relatively slow learners to be called "sweat hogs".

Numerous other example of copying could be given. But in general it can be said that children acted like, and talked like television hero figures and copied situations seen on television. These situations often suggested macho and aggressive behaviour patterns. Parents and other adults noted such effects and were vocal about their complaints that television was causing their children to act more aggressive and more sexual and more unruly.

Although the behaviour results of outgroup identity have been somewhat problematical and stressful, observations suggest that there are accompanying gains in knowledge about the outside world which are more clearly acceptable to the community. Children coming to school now are far better at speaking English than was the case prior to television when there was very little English in the home. Now they have television and Sesame Street to profit from. As well, teachers say that knowledge of city life and of geography and science have expanded considerably due to television. Students are now better aware of freeways, oceans, mountains, animal life, space science, escalators, and all manner of Western innovations, and geographic data of which they never have had any first-hand acquaintance.

On the other hand, although there is ample evidence of increasing outgroup identity and information about the out-group after the arrival of television, observation also reveals a persistence of traditional patterns. Problem-solving continues to be based upon observation. There is a persistence of animistic interpretations of health and welfare. There is a persistence of fear of the out-group. There is persistence of concrete situational patterns of thought. There is persistence of the use of metaphor in storytelling. There is persistence of stoicism in facial demeanor and emotional control, and there is persistence of non-lineal time orientations.

Overall Summary of Television's Impact on Modernization

The hypothesis that the introduction of television into a Native community will spur modernization is only partially confirmed. It indicates that in the case of Algonkians, surface identifications and copying of out-group behaviour does take place. There is increasing use of out-group as role models, increasing information about out-group, increasing purchase of items characteristic of the out-group style of life, increasing desire for information and participation in out-group life, and increasing use of out-group language in the home. On the other hand, measures of the extent of increasing behaviour parallels to out-group in terms of deeper-lying thought processes are largely negative. Measures of concrete situational orientation and of problem-solving strategies show a persistence of the Algonkian idiom in spite of television. This is not surprising to the student of Algonkian life for such persistence of traditions has been commented upon previously by other scholars who suggest that Algonkian people have a peculiar ability to adapt to change with surface adjustments which are fully incorporated within the framework of traditional thought.

We now shift our focus to a consideration of the impact of television upon levels of stress in Algonkian communities.

STRESS FINDINGS

1. Fear of victimization

instruments and scoring

Victimization scores were derived from responses to seven sentence completions. Included among these were "Two boys were hunting when something happened. What happened". "A girl was baby-sitting when something happened. What happened.", "The boy was running because...?" Responses were scored according to whether or not a situation of confrontation with danger was imagined. The more such dangers were imagined, the higher the victimization score.

results

Relative to the control group, there were decreasing fears of victimization at the experimental community after the arrival of television, but no similar effect was observable at the control community after it received television. If anything, the effects at the control community are reversed. There may be increasing fears, and particularly among the lo-exposed.

2. Aggression

a. evidence from psychological tests

instruments and scoring

Aggression scores were derived from responses to seven sentence completions. Included among these were "What would you do if someone kicked you?", "What would you do if someone called you a name?", "What would you do if someone threw a stone at you and hit you with it?" Responses were scored according to whether they indicated a preference to ignore the provocation, run away from it, or seek help (these all being scored as non-aggressive) or a preference to retaliate in kind.

results

(1) Negative Correlation Between Age and Amount of Aggression

(2) Relative to the control group there was increasing

aggression at the experimental community after the arrival of television. This effect was not replicated at the control community after it received television. They continued a trend toward less aggression.

b. evidence from observation

Observations at the target (Granzberg 1980) and control (Hanks 1980) communities and also at the Saulteaux control community (Steinbring 1980) corroborate increasing levels of aggressive behaviour among children and, as well, among adults after the arrival of television. There are more fights, greater use of dangerous weapons, greater physical damage and lots of copying of the behaviour of macho television "stars".

3. Perception of stress in human relationships

instruments and scoring

Stress in human relationships scores were derived from responses to four photographs. Subjects were asked "What is happening?"; "What are they thinking about?". If subjects saw amicable thoughts and relationships, no stress was scored. But if they envisioned negative relationships or thoughts the response was scored as indicative of stress.

results

The data indicates that relative to the control group, the experimental group increased their tendency to perceive stress in human relationships after television arrived. This effect was discernable both in the novelty and longer range periods and also at the control community after it received television. There is also a suggestion that lo's are most effected, at least in the novelty period. The data indicates that human relationships undergo extra strain in both communities after the arrival of television.

Summary of Findings on Television's Impact Upon Stress

Our data confirms our initial hypothesis that the introduction of television into a Native community will produce stress. But we have discovered that the nature of that stress varies according to the level of integration and solidarity in the community. Where integration is low, stress centers around increasing aggression. Where integration is high, stress centers upon increasing fears of being victimized. In both cases, increasing strain in human relationships is produced and is reflected in increasing imputations of negativity in human relationships.

OVERALL SUMMARY OF THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION UPON STRESS AND MODERNIZATION

The data supports the hypothesis that the introduction of television into a Native community produces stress. The data only partially supports the hypothesis that television modernizes. In both cases the exact nature of television's impact could not have been predicted by extrapolating from prior research. The most applicable generalization from the literature is that television's impact is highly conditioned by pre-existing dispositions in the viewing audience.

In the case of stress, we have seen that a solidary, integrated community may overcome television's aggression inducing potential and swerve children toward a more traditional, non-aggressive stance. We have seen that a less integrated community may be unable to sway the more impulsive ones and may have increasing levels of aggression with which to deal. Stress is created in both cases. But in the one it is due to heightened pressure for caution and wariness while in the other it is due to the burden of dealing with abnormal levels of aggressive attitude.

These data are consistent with the view that a major impact shaping role is played by the meanings imparted to television by pre-existing traditions of communication. Analogies to dreaming and conjuring (traditional Cree techniques for accomplishing live-long-distance communication) give television meanings which make it highly relevant to a Cree child's search for identity and guidance.

Where these analogies are not qualified with effective cautions, as in the less integrated community, television models and information produce the heightened aggression and lowered victimization fears that are observed.

But when these analogies are qualified with effective cautions - - when children are consistently warned that television may be evil, that it is bad conjuring by the White Man, that it is like an evil shaman's soul-stealing shaking tent and should therefore be rejected, then the introduction of television produces the heightened fears and decreasing levels of aggression that are observed in the integrated community.

It seems, however, in the case of modernization, that cautions are not enough to override the great status enhancement of the out-group produced by television. As a result, regardless of the integration level of the community, children increase their identity with the out-group but not enough to modernize the basic idiom of thought addressed to complex issues nor enough to alter the basic concrete-situational orientation used to deal with the world.

We shall detail the role of Algonkian culture and traditions in shaping television impact in the chapter to follow.

REFERENCES

Granzberg, Gary 1976 — "A Comparison of Children's Values: Traditional Cree, Acculturated Cree, Euro-Canadian". In *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference.* William Cowan, ed. pp.312-322. Ottawa: Carleton University.

1980 — "The Introduction of Television into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community: A Study of Meanings, Uses and Effects" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.), *Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada*, Winnipeg, University of Winnipeg.

Hanks, Christopher 1980 — "Television Among the Oxford House Cree" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indians*.

Hanks, Nancy 1980 — "An Economic Analysis of the Effect of Television upon Consumer Buying Trends in the Northern Native Communities" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

Munroe, Robert and Ruth 1975 — *Cross-Cultural Human Development*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole.

Pereira, Cecil 1980 — "Telecommunication and Changes among Cree Students" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

Preston, Richard J. 1971 — *Cree Narration: An Expression of the Personal Meaning of Events*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Norh Carolina, pp.177-178.

Thoriakson, Linda and G. Granzberg 1975 — "Draw-A-Man Analysis of Norway House, Oxford House and Winnipeg Children" in Hamer, Steinbring, et. al. *Second Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North*. Winnipeg, Univ. of Winnipeg.

CHAPTER 4

EXPLANATION OF IMPACT AND MEANING OF TELEVISION AMONG ALGONKIANS

by

Gary Granzberg

CHAPTER 4

EXPLANATION OF IMPACT AND MEANING OF TELEVISION AMONG ALGONKIANS

Introduction

In chapter 2 we outlined the meanings and uses by which Algonkians approach television. In chapter 3 we outlined the impact of television among Algonkians. In this chapter we shall demonstrate the interaction between these variables.

We shall interpret the impact and meaning of television among Algonkians according to ten factors of Algonkian life. These are:

1. traditions of communication through dreaming, conjuring and storytelling.
2. animistic tradition of image making and sorcery.
3. television illiteracy.
4. concrete-pragmatic orientations.
5. negative expectations for Western man and his technology.
6. community solidarity.
7. social-communal interest.
8. transformational adaptation strategy.
9. stresses of reserve life.
10. certain taboos.

Explaining Increased Out-Group Identity

1. The role of traditions of communication through dreaming and conjuring

When television entered Algonkian society and was seen to provide the service of live, long-distance communication, there was a natural tendency to generalize the uses and meanings associated with traditional live, long-distance communication devices onto television. This tendency, which is a well understood part of the core concept of diffusion that has long been a bulwark of anthropology, was solidified by the fact that Algonkians chose to use their Native word for shaking tent as the word which refers to television and by the fact that they told stories and jokes which made the analogy between conjuring and television explicit.

As a result, from the very beginning, one direction toward which the Algonkian television experience was focused was that of utilizing television (just as dreams and shaking tents were utilized) for finding out about the future, for making contact with powerful helper figures and for receiving personally meaningful messages.

Thus, analogies between television and traditions of communication through conjuring and dreaming reinforced the role of television as an educational device and especially as a source of information about the outside world. In addition, because conjuring and dreaming were serious business and did not include any artifical "made up" scenes, television was given perhaps undue credence as an informational device and efforts to develop a healthy skepticism towards it were hampered.

These traditions also give television added impact as a source of role models. This is clearest in the case of children who, traditionally, were coached to strive for powerful dreams and visions in which a Spirit Helper would give them a power and direction in life. This was the vision quest. The metaphorical description of television as a dream or as a shaking tent (places where superhero figures traditionally appeared) adds to the child's tendency to be receptive to it as a source of hero figures after which behaviour may be modelled.

2. The role of reserve life stresses

Adding to this traditionally-based tendency to search for superheroes who will be a guide in life is the deficit in self-esteem and confidence which is produced by the acculturation pressures of reserve life.

Difficulties of taking up the old ways of subsistence, coupled with the lack of adequate wage labour on the reserve, has resulted in mass unemployment, alcohol dependence, a relative absence of firm and attractive sex role models, and an often tense inter-generation relationship.

In order to override the feelings of inadequacy generated by reserve life, there is a readiness within the Algonkian child to seek external non-reserve models to pattern his behaviour and to be especially receptive to power figures. Quite often it is Western Man who is seen as powerful and macho and who becomes an attractive role model. Movies and television were the main source for identifying with the macho Western Man model, but now with movies being shown less frequently due to the popularity of television, television models are paramount.

3. The role of television illiteracy

Identification and copying of television "stars" is further enhanced by television illiteracy. Children are not fully apprised of the artificial qualities in television. They are not sure how programs are made. Many believe that television "stars" truly live their television roles in real life. They, in fact, often do not differentiate "real life" from "TV roles". Their difficulties in differentiating between fact and fiction on television intensifies their enchantment with television "heros".

4. The role of traditional image theory

Algonkian traditions of image-making and imitative magic further complicate the problems. Traditionally, images of objects were felt to house the spirit of the object portrayed. Shamen would make an image of an object for purposes of imitative magic. Even the spoken or written name of an object was felt to hold its spiritual essence (hence the refusal to utter the name of a deceased lest the ghost return). Photographs were feared by many Cree as soul-capturing devices. And mirrors were felt to reflect images of souls.

Thus, images of things were felt to have an innate connection with the literal reality. And to the extent that this idea persists today, and our field work suggests that it is not totally lost, images on television are lent still further credence.

5. Role of story-telling traditions

Stories are an important educational device in non-Western society. Through the presentation of short, entertaining, easily memorized plots in which characters and events are carefully engineered to stand as metaphors for higher concepts of morality, principle and prediction, stories gently and effectively educate, growing in importance and relevance as the child's awareness and experience expands. When TV arrives in a Native community, it inevitably becomes one of its most important storytellers and, as such, acquires the metaphorical, revelational meanings associated with the story. This fuels its use as an educational device and adds to the importance of television hero figures as models for life and as sources of important information about life.

6. The role of concrete-pragmatic orientations

The use of television for education and information is augmented by the practical idiom by which Algonkians deal with life. The tradition of embedding concepts in detail and of attending to consequence and example produces a mind habituated to seeking and expecting consequential and personal meanings in stories. Such approach is applied to television, and information of an educational, useful nature is sought even in instances where, often unbeknownst to the Algonkian viewer, stories are sheer fantasy and have no practical lessons to impart.

7. The role of transformational adaptive strategies

Further enhancing television as a role modelling and information medium is the Algonkian strategy of transformational adaptation. This strategy conditions the Algonkian viewer to seek role play data from television in order to employ an elaborate game of survival. This game consists of expedient transformations of identity to suit particular situations but without changes in underlying values and motives. Conflicts between internal patterns and external surface behaviour are either perceived as secondary to the more important drive to exploit the external environment in order to satisfy one's material wants or are resolved by ingeniously flexible coding gymnastics by which new and strange behaviours are subsumed within traditionally valued activities.

In summary then the increasing out-group identity produced by television among Algonkians may be explained in part by the action of analogies between television and conjuring and dreaming which enhance television's meaning as a source of heros and identity and truth and revelations; by pressures of reserve life which create insecurity and inter-generation strain and which, thereby, create needs for hero figures and external role models; by television illiteracy and imitative magic themes which intensify the impact and credibility of television heros; by concrete pragmatic orientations and analogies between television and story telling which predispose children to seek news, information and practical revelations from television; and by transformational adaptive strategies which create an inclination to use television for adaptation and for opportunistic role play behaviour.

Explaining the Lack of Modernization in Deeper Lying Thought Processes and in the Basic Idiom for Solving Problems and Facing Life

A major explanation of this finding is found in the very adaptation strategy which accounts in part for great surface changes.

Algonkians are quite willing to adapt surface changes of behaviour and to take the role ot the outgroup as long as such behaviour is expedient for their material needs and as long as such roles may be absorbed within traditional frames of reference by metaphorical transformations which show their symbolic parallel to more traditional processes.

By coding wage labour as a "hunt"; pursuit of the Holy Ghost as a vision quest with associated songs, identity changes and powers; relocation as seasonal movement; television as conjuring, dreaming and storytelling; bingo as battles of gambling power; and the whole enterprise of adopting to pressures of acculturation as nothing more than a trickster's ability to manipulate the world to obtain his ends, the Algonkian is enabled to show surface out-group identity change while remaining covertly conservative in fundamental patterns of thought.

Resistance to the more fundamental patterns of behaviour on television, such as aggression, abstraction, achievement orientation, dominance and open display of emotion is also reinforced by suspicions about television as an exploiter and disrupter of Algonkian life. These emotions are prevelant in certain conservative and/or traditional sectors of Algonkian culture. They employ analogies between television and sorcery to counteract the disruptive models on television. These analogies are backed up by reference to traditional negative interpretations of Western man and his technology as aborters of natural laws and processes.

Explanation of Stress Impacts

1. Explanation of aggression

Increased levels of aggression are observed in the test responses of high exposed subjects in the target community. This may be traced, in part, to the action of the above listed factors of Algonkian culture which intensify the usage of television for role modelling. For television role models are more overtly aggressive than is typical of Algonkians. Decreasing aggression is observed in the test responses of lo-exposed subjects at the target community and is the overall mode for subjects at the control community (even after the arrival of television there). This may be attributed to the strength of the resistance to aggression modelling behaviour offered by conservative and traditional families at the target communites and in the control community. This resistance was implemented by reference to well established negative expectations for Western man and his technology and by employment of sorcery anologies with television. The anology between sorcery and television proved effective in the factionalized target community only where children had already established high emotional control abilities. It was more generally effective in the more solidary control community however, due to the integration of opinion within a well organized Pentecostal fervor.

2. Explanation of increasing fantasies of negative human relationships

The data indicates that two kinds of stress may be introduced by television. One type is developed through aggressive role modelling and the other through fears and suspicions. The level of social integration and of traditional conservative thought seems to determine the nature of the stress.

When integration is low and highly disparate positions are found (as in the target community), it seems that the conjuring, dreaming, storytelling, image replicating meanings of television have precedence. As a result role modelling in aggression increases while fears of victimization decrease through increasing familiarity and identification with Western man. But when integration is high and conservative thought predominates (as in the control community), the sorcery meaning of television has precedence. As a result role modelling in aggression decreases while fears of victimization increase.

In either case, however, it would seem that increasing stress in human relationships is introduced and this is reflected in test responses from both communities in which imputations of negativity in human relationships increase after the arrival of television.

Explanation of Some Likes and Dislikes

Questionnaire data (Pereira 1980) and field observation (Granzberg 1980, Hanks 1980, Steinbring 1980) reveal that Algonkians like soap operas, situation comedies, adventure shows and news and that they dislike talk shows, certain commercials and documentaries focused on the female, and the Muppets.

1. Soap operas

Interest in soap operas may be traced to the great social-communal interests of Algonkians. Their world is motivated, to a large extent, by social needs and by the necessity of extensive "wheeling and dealing" in order to maintain friends and build power. Because such activities are also the focus of soap operas, there is a great interest in them. Soap operas are also one of the few places where an Algonkian can view Euro life from the inside out and see that there are just as many problems in that life as in reserve life.

2. Situation comedies

Story telling legends which incorporate trickster themes form the basis of an interest in situation comedies. Just as trickster legends deal in transformation themes and in the use of identity change and disguise, so do situation comedies deal in mistaken identity themes. The Gilligan character of the Gilligan's Island show epitomizes transformational imagery and identity change. Perhaps the unparalleled popularity of Gilligan's Island is due, in part, to the direct way in which Gilligan is reminiscent of the trickster.

3. Adventure shows

The popularity of adventure shows may be traced, in part, to the reserve setting's strain on the male role. There is an inner feeling of male inadequacy which may often be compensated for by expressions of "macho" masculinity.

Macho behaviour is customary on the reserve and television adventure shows, mainly police stories and westerns, provide attractive models. An additional factor might be the presence of taboos on overt aggression which create an atmosphere whereby outlets for aggression are sought through vicarious identification with television's masculine super heros like the Fonz and McGarret.

4. Feminine napkin commercials - birth - pregnancy ducumentaries

The dislike of feminine napkin commercials and of scenes of giving birth may be traced to beliefs about the polluting qualities of females when in critical states of femininity. Men should not see or be near females at such times or bad luck may ensue. Television shows depicting such activities are seen as unwelcome intrusions upon these customs.

5. The Muppets

A survey in the target and control community revealed a surprising dislike of the Muppets (Pereira 1980). Video-tape experimentation (Hanks and Granzberg 1980) showed that objections centered upon Kermit (the frog puppet host of the show) and Fozzie (a timid puppet bear comedian on the show). It was discovered that traditions surrounding frogs which connect them to trickery and sorcery were applied by some Algonkian to the Kermit character and may have caused objections to the loveable way he is portrayed on the show. It was also discovered that traditions of bears as powerful and dangerous were applied to the Fozzie character. The tradition that disrespect to the bear brings bad luck may also have been applied.

These traditions may have caused some Algonkians to feel that Fozzie's portrayal as timid and as the butt of practical jokes was insulting. In addition, it was found that concrete-pragmatic orientations produced a basic resistance to the show's fantasy format. Algonkian viewers couldn't see the point to the show. There was no practical framework to give the show meaning and relevance.

REFERENCES

Granzberg, Gary 1980 "The Introduction of Television into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community: A Study of Meanings, Uses and Effects" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada*. Winnipeg, Univ. of Winnipeg.

Hanks, Christopher 1980 "Television among the Oxford House Cree" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

Hanks, Christopher and G. Granzberg 1980 "Use of Video Tape in Cross-Cultural Television Research: Phase II 'The Muppets'" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

Pereira, Cecil 1980 "When Television Invades Remote Northern Communities" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

Steinbring, Jack 1980 "Television on the Jackhead Indian Reserve: 1969-1980" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by

Gary Granzberg

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Impact of Television

Our study confirms the supposition that television is, indeed, a very powerful tool through which Western culture is diffused to the Native. It has the capacity to increase identity with the West and, as a result, to increase participation in Western economics, Western behaviour models and Western information flow. On the one hand this could be viewed as advantageous to the Native cause, as greater assertiveness combined with greater feelings of control and security and greater information increases the effectiveness of efforts to secure Native rights and securities. On the other hand, the study suggests that factionalization stresses may be augmented, traditional patterns of socialization weakened, and individualized competitive and divisive goal patterns strengthened.

The study further suggests that the forces of acculturation introduced by television are less effective among mature, emotionally controlled individuals and solidary, integrated societies and, more generally, is not strong enough to engulf deeper lying levels of cognitive style and value structure.

The role of cultural solidarity in shaping television's impact has been noted by other researchers (Beal, 1976: 228-229; Hudson, 1975: 17; Eapen, 1979: 109). Its effects are verified in our study by three independent measures: 1) longitudinal sociological study of occupational and educational aspirations among 7th, 8th and 9th graders; 2) longitudinal psychological study of aggression among 3rd, 4th and 5th grade children; and 3) seven years of ethnographic observation. These measures all show that the solidary control community, after it finally received television, was able to successfully combat certain acculturation pressures.

The percentage of people indicating occupational aspiration away from traditional interests in hunting, fishing and trapping, and educational aspiration beyond the traditional senior high drop out point did not increase (in fact decreased) at the solidary community after it received television, though high aspirations increased by 16% at the less solidary target community after it received television. A measure of aspirational change at the solidary community prior to its reception of television showed that aspirations were rising at a pace very close to that which was occurring at the target community.

Aggression did not increase (in fact decreased) at the solidary, control community after it received television, but aggression increased significantly at the target community after it received television.

Ethnographic observation attested to a retrenchment and increased conservatism and religious fundamentalism at the control community after it received television. Evidence of such retrenchment did not appear, except in isolated, individual cases, at the target community after it received television.

Meaning of Television

The study confirms the important role played by culture in shaping television's impact. It demonstrates that traditions of storytelling, dreaming, conjuring, image replication, pragmatism and television illiteracy can serve as catalysts for materializing the capacity of television to increase out-group identity.

It also demonstrates, however, how these traditions can be used effectively by strongly solidary traditional groups to counter out-group identity and to help maintain traditions. This is done by reinforcing traditional fears of exploitation by the West, by stressing the sorcery like capacity of television through numerous symbolic narratives, and by greater efforts at maintaining traditional patterns of socialization.

Theoretical Implications

The findings support the call of most modern communication researchers for the development of a multilineal rather than unilineal theory of television impact. The rapidly expanding data base on the impacts and meanings of television among differing peoples has made it clear that television's impacts are multiple and that cultural variation is the key to understanding. It is now possible to rough out a series of key cultural factors that are critical in determining the particular pathways of television impact. Four factors are indicated. These are adaptational strategy, amount and nature of locally sensitive programming, uses and meanings of television derived from local traditions of communication and world view, and level of community solidarity.

1. Adaptation strategy

Native societies develop customary procedures for adapting to acculturation pressures. Some focus upon a resistive rejecting stance. Some place their efforts toward acceptance of change and assimilation. Others find a middle ground. These latter groups appear to assimilate through rapid surface adoptions of out-group ways but, on a deeper level, continue to cling to traditional cognitive styles, value structures and world view. This is the Algonkian strategy for adaptation. We may call this the transformational adaptive strategy because it depends upon an ingeniously fascile mind which is capable of finding essential common denominators between traditional objects and actions and strange new objects and actions. This strategy thereby finds the means to rationally apply traditional codes to the new material and, in so doing, transforms the unknown to the known.

When television is introduced into each of these types, the prospects for impact would seem to differ. In the case of the rejecting strategy, it would seem that television would, at first, meet with resistance and would produce little change. But, perhaps, in the longer run, it might create a quick and unsettling revolution of ideas.

In the case of the assimilation strategy television might spark rapid change of a thorough and lasting nature.

In the case of the transformational strategy, television would also produce rapid change, but not as thorough or fundamental as in the assimilative case. There would be a continuance of traditional values and world view even as many surface changes appear.

In each case there would be a differing stress pattern. In the resisting society stress from television would gradually increase culminating perhaps in a social breakdown.

In the assimilative case there would be high initial stress which would gradually reduce over time.

In the transformational case there would likely be a steady, mid-level of stress which would maintain itself and would not lead to social breakdown.

2. Native programming

Governments in developing areas inevitably wish to reduce Western content and introduce locally sensitive content which utilizes local languages, customs and world view.

The more governments are able to dispense news, drama and other television content in locally designed culturally sensitive packages, the more effective they will be in carrying out their programs of development.

Effective Native programming will reduce the stress of government developmental programs and eliminate conflicting ideas that may appear on Western television.

3. Uses and meanings of television derived from local traditions

The success of Native programming ultimately depends upon an awareness of meanings and uses of television derived from local traditions. These meanings and uses will vary considerably from one culture to another, depending on the nature of their beliefs, world view, and psychological propensities.

However, certain common developmental experiences, customs and beliefs produce some rather general uses and meanings of television that can be anticipated. The almost universal presence of traditions of communication through dreaming, conjuring, drama and storytelling and the presence of television illiteracy and social-communal interests develop an extra importance for television as a highly trustworthy news source, and as a source of behaviour models, morality and revelations. Furthermore, a common history of stressful colonial exploitation by Western man inevitably produces a wariness of television which is augmented to sorcery proportions in more conservative quarters and where Native programming is not well developed.

Traditions of concrete pragmatism produce a desire for relevant and practically useful programming. Sheer fantasy programs may even be resented.

Intermittently occurring taboos, such as those which concern the nature and extent of male-female interaction, may produce distaste for certain Western programming which goes beyond local tastes in the extent of portrayal of sexual interaction, nudity, women's rights, and female biological process.

Other taboo areas such as certain behaviours directed at the dead, may be less capable of anticipation and require situational adaptations.

4. Level of community solidarity

The extent to which perceived negative models on television can be counteracted depends greatly upon the level of community solidarity. Where solidarity is high, a concerted, integrated effort at establishing counter socialization arises and has success.

These factors and others need to be incorporated in a modern theory of cross-cultural television impact. At this time we can only glimpse the rough structure of such a theory, but we are far ahead of where we were a short time ago when cultural factors were only cursorily included, if at all, in such theories.

Considerations for the Future

The rapid refinement and growing usage of satellite broadcast television is the major factor for future consideration for the economy of technology and its potential for pluralistic programming with sensitivity to local regions provides a potential that is very positive. But there are negative aspects. Expanding satellite usage is creating a television potential that is not unlike the development of the various radio "voices" that were aimed across national borders and which had both positive and negative features.

On the one hand, the presence of a television international 'voice' creates the opportunity to bring messages of hope and information of a kind which perhaps some people may profit mightily from. On the other hand developing countries may be attempting to maintain traditions and identities that are in a critical state of insecurity and which could perhaps be forced over the edge of extinction by the very effective forces of Western acculturation produced in daily Western television programming.

And again, on the one hand, the technology with widely expanded channels of broadcasting opens the air ways to numerous producers of programs and provides an opportunity for producers to shape programs for specific populations. The information we now have about Native programming needs thus can be implemented and more effective Native programming will develop.

On the other hand, this development only increases the effectiveness of television socialization pressures and intensifies the problems of conflict between identity-maintenance needs and modernization needs. TV messages will be focused more sharply with the development of effective Native programming and this will make the role of the television producer even more critical as a determinant of where the balance falls in the battle between modernization and the survival of authentic cultures.

Specific Recommendations

Native programming should be given a great push, for the technology of the future will be especially amenable to such programming.

The first Native programs to be attempted should be news and information shows in local languages with subjects of local interest and delivered in local idiom and employing story-telling and other characteristics of traditional communication. Trickster legends could be profitably employed in this context. As has always been the case, they would supply the metaphors which would raise the concrete incidents of news to higher levels of meaning which embrace traditional perspectives.

The second type of program to be initially undertaken could be Native soap operas, but with one difference. These would be soap operas which have a major goal of education as well as entertainment. The world experience has been that soaps are almost universally the most popular form of television. They have been already used effectively in many areas in localized ways. They should now be developed for Native Canada and should employ Native actors and utilize Native languages (though English or French versions would also be effective). They should concentrate upon current problems of Native life and show how these problems can be effectively confronted. They should show the difficulty to be encountered in the city and the reserve and should show people working through them -- some succeeding and some failing. The reasons for the various outcomes should be made clear, but not, of course, in lecture form. All the variables involved should be revealed through dramatic stories.

Native writers are, of course, required and a doubling of effort in this area is needed. As well, non-Native writers can also be effectively employed. There are many who are intimately familiar with Native life and who understand many of the variables.

A team effort in writing would, perhaps, be best.

In all programming decisions for Native communities, the policy of integrity of choice is paramount. Local community participation in decision making must be present. The world experience shows that this can best be done by usage of television groups who discuss programs and who make suggestions. The world experience also shows that such groups quickly become ineffective and become alienated if they are not truly incorporated within the decision making machinery. They have to see the effects of their suggestions and know they are having influence.

REFERENCES

Beal, J. C. et. al.
1976
The Application of Dynamic Modelling to the Study of Telecommunications Development in Canada. Final Report. Kingston, Queens Univ. Press.

Eapen, K. E.
1979
"The Cultural Component of SITE". Journal of Communication 29 (4): 106-113.

Hudson, Heather
1975
Implications of the Alaska Education Satellite Communications Demonstration for Telecommunications and Education Policymakers. First Annual Report. Executive Summary. Washington D. C., Practical Concepts Inc.

PART II

PRESENTATION OF ETHNOGRAPHIC, PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION DATA

Gary Granzberg
Jack Steinbring
Christopher Hanks

CHAPTER 6

THE INTRODUCTION OF TELEVISION INTO A NORTHERN MANITOBA CREE COMMUNITY: A STUDY OF MEANINGS, USES AND EFFECTS

by

Gary Granzberg

SECTION I -- COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CANADIAN INDIAN

Because of the dearth of material on the topic of television in Canadian Indian society, it is important to consider the extent to which the study's findings about television among the Cree of northern Manitoba may be applied to the Canadian Indian in general. This entails a consideration of the extent to which the Cree of northern Manitoba share common characteristics with other Canadian Indians, especially those characteristics which are most crucial in shaping the television experience.

With regard to this, the characteristics of Manitoba Cree life which we have found to be most crucial in shaping their television experience are characteristics which fall within the general realms of religion, psychology and socio-economics. Within religion influential characteristics include beliefs about shamanism, spirits, dreams and trickster tales. Within the psychological realm influential characteristics include stoicism, individualism, concrete-pragmatic orientation, non-lineality and non-causality, and oneness with nature. Within the socio-economic realm influential characteristics include reservation economic dependence, factionalization, and covert culture tenacity in the face of overt culture change. We shall take each in turn and show that these are characteristics which are generally applicable to all Canadian Indians.

Shared Religious Beliefs

Throughout Canada, the Indian inherits a still active tradition of animistic beliefs from his forbears. These produce concerns about Shamanism, spirits, dreams, and trickster tales.

1. Shamanism

In all Canadian Indian societies there are shamen who cure, prognosticate, pontificate and give aid in politics, hunting and love. Whereas in the past these important men and women practiced openly with their role fully accepted by the community, today they are often driven into secrecy. Their ability with medicines, based on plant knowledge and on mind strength, is known by all community members and many come to them for aid, but they fear being arrested for "practicing without a license" or ridiculed for being "superstitious", and they therefore often practice secretly so that most non-Natives (even those living in the community as teachers and Bay managers) will not know that an active shamanistic institution still exists in the community. However, many doctors recognize the value of the Native curer, not just psychologically but for real physical benefits through their extensive and tradition-steeped knowledge of herbs and remedies, and will provide the opportunity for a Native patient to utilize the shaman.

However, not all is positive in the shamanistic institution. Shamen can as readily destroy as heal. If they make enemies or feel slighted or, at times, are hired to perform a certain service, they will perform sorcery and are believed by a great majority of the members of Canadian Indian communities, even those fully assimilated and living in the city, to have real power to bewitch and to injure or kill.

2. Spirits

In order to protect oneself, one must have power. Power is available from the spirit world. The shaman is especially adept at manipulating spirit power - but it is available to all men.

Traditionally it was believed that specialized spirit forces lay behind events. Rivers, stars, rocks, animals, plants, humans, all acted according to the habits of souls or spirits. Each had its own strengths and weaknesses but all could be contacted and maintained in friendship pacts through which their power could be utilized for the benefit of individual or group ends.

Friendship pacts with spiritual essences (like thunderbird, bear, frog and little fairy people) were usually attained by special power dreams. A person would seek a power dream through fasting and personal privation. He might dream of one of the power spirits who would teach him a sacred personal song and take him to special distant places to see the world and learn its secrets. And he would be given a special secret name or object commemorating his new power. The person's life might be totally changed by this experience.

These traditional animistic beliefs are still found today in most Indian communities but, except for the traditional segment of society, they appear in attenuated and altered form. One of the most powerful spirits of the modern day is the spirit Christ. Most Natives accept Christ as a great supernatural, but they do not necessarily hold that his worship excludes the maintenance of friendship pacts with other more traditional spirits. The Pentecostal movement today is strong and it incorporates most of the traditions of shamanism and vision quest that have existed for years. The minister is a shaman-like figure who has received a vision and a dream of Christ and has changed his perspectives (as of old). And in the Pentecostal service there is dream interpretation, spirit possession, curing and exorcism - - all traditional activities.

Not only may a man achieve contact with a natural spirit, he may also contact the soul of another man. In sorcery, for example, an attempt may be made to capture a man's or woman's soul and to manipulate it. A person's soul is especially in danger at death. It must be put to rest properly with a wake. It must be fed commemoratively each year. This is especially true if the death was violent. If a drowning, the body must be found or the soul will walk aimlessly, and could do harm. At wakes, the body is carefully watched. A sorcerer could steal a finger or hair and could use this to control the shadow and make it do harm.

3. Dreams

Dreams reveal the soul's state. The soul can wander from the body in sleep and dreams reflect the soul's experiences or its inspired knowledge of the future or of things in distant regions. Dreams must be carefully examined lest important messages and guidelines for behaviour be lost.

A person with strong dreams and good friendship pacts with spiritual essences will be a success in life. In days of old he would be a great hunter or warrior. Today he may be good at bingo, or at getting jobs, or dancing, or influencing people and knowing the future.

4. Trickster tales

Moral concepts are not elaborately worked into a highly ordered set of precepts as appear in the Christian Bible. But an analogous development does occur in a series of trickster tales which contain many moral precepts. These tales are passed on from one generation to the next and they are rather uniform among the various Canadian Indian groups.

They describe a great transformer of life who made the world and who demonstrates certain lessons such as that "things are not as they appear on the surface", "nature is balanced and one should not tamper with it", "people are basically ignorant and must be tricked into doing what is right", "one needs power to be successful". The stories are often raucous and slapstick. They hold a child's attention. He will remember the stories and later find great depths of meaning in them as he experiences events which reflect the symbolic content of the stories.

Shared Psychological Patterns

Shared psychological patterns among Canadian Indians include stoicism, individualism, concrete-pragmatic orientation, non-linear time and non-causality orientation, and a feeling of being in nature and not against it.

1. Stoicism

The Indian has been known for years as stone-faced and stoic. This stems from a high value placed upon emotional control, wariness, secrecy and caution. Great stress is placed on overt amicability. Children are trained not to be impulsive but to carefully wait and plan responses, especially if anger is instigated. Overt non-aggression is a necessity in close band and extended family conditions, and overt emotional control is a necessity of the hunt and its ever-present dangers. Emotional displays even in dance and parting or greeting or under duress and pain are toned down.

2. Individualism

Feeding into emotional control is a sense of individualism both for oneself and as granted to others. Interference in the life and desires of another is distasteful - so much so, in fact, that a specially subtle communication exists which is so finely tuned that slight gestures, pregnant pauses, and hints in tone of voice are all that is needed to communicate a desire or purpose. Except under unusual conditions it would be unthinkable to directly demand a service or order someone to do something. Thus results the necessity for consensus in band politics, the indulgence of child-training, the resort to English when there is a need to issue direct, quick, commands, the usage of metaphor and oblique repartee in conversation, the hesitancy to set specific clock-based meeting times, the anxiety associated with questions, and the feeling that the Euro-Canadian, with his too-direct ways, is, at times, an unsophisticated, interfering, thick-headed boor with too many rules and regulations.

3. Concrete-pragmatic orientation

Further complicating the Euro-Indian relationship is a difference in problem-solving strategy. The city dweller, by having to deal with chronic, quickly changing conditions, has learned to apply an abstract , generalized strategy to the problems of life. He has learned the advantage of going to school not to memorize details but to learn a general problem-solving discipline applicable to all circumstances. He has learned to be flexible and adaptable. The Indian, on the other hand, has developed a system of thought which is advantageous in a stable system. He utilizes a concrete pragmatic problem-solving orientation. He learns to memorize solutions to particular situations. He learns detail and exactness. For years he has faced the same exact situations and has memorized solutions - how to find wood that will burn when it rains, how to navigate across high waves, how to detect submerged rocks that could tip a boat, how to hunt a moose when there is deep snow, how to get a caribou when there is a thaw, what plant to use to treat a baby suffering from toothache, how to determine when a storm is coming or when it will be clear.

Because of this orientation, the Indian speaks in terms of concrete example rather than generalization, seeks to memorize details rather than a general rule, and finds it difficult to take on a permanent, steady 8 - 5 job which is often compared to slavery with its lack of freedom to move about and react spontaneously to situations. Regular 8 - 5 jobs seem especially burdensome when appetites are satisfied and when no immediate money is required to solve a situational need.

4. Non-lineality and non-causality

The Native tends not to think of himself as a shaper of the world. He tends not to have a scientific concept of linear causality between events. He tends, rather, to employ the concept of spiritual forces at work to create events. Illnesses are caused, often, by spiritual offenses or by sorcery, not by viruses or bacteria, though these may be a part of the larger process. Man cannot shape the future. The future is already pre-determined. Man must merely attempt to know the future and prepare for it and deal with it more or less successfully.

The Native does not habitually orient himself by linear time. He does not necessarily order events along a past-present-future continuum. Situational references may place events. They may have spiritual and moral meanings. The Native has great difficulty learning to habitually use the English grammar of tenses. It is not a part of his traditional pattern of thought. Of course, likewise, the European has great difficulty learning Native grammar which often orders by reference to animate vs. inanimate categories.

5. Oneness with nature

The Indian is comfortable with nature and natural process. He is comfortable with his naked body, with sex, with the need for elimination, with bad smells, with bodily deterioration and death, and with natural relations with animals, plants and the weather. He does not see Nature as savage, nor himself. He does not feel shamed if he displays his bodily nature. He does become upset, however, if natural forces are contested and challenged. He abhors the tortures practiced upon the land in the name of mining, damming, milling and progress.

Shared Social and Economic Patterns

Native groups to-day are almost all based on reserves where predictable social, economic and political conditions occur. The essence of reserve life, in most cases, is a disruption of the traditional subsistence pattern and a great dependence upon the European for survival. That is demeaning, for as we have observed, independence is a great value. But conveniences of reserve life have tended to sway most people. They are persuaded to live on reserves by the ease of gaining food, medical aid, schooling, warmth, and entertainment through radio, television, movies and parties.

But reserve life makes it difficult to hunt and trap and fish as before. Not only is there readily available welfare checks and other free aids, but there is a problem of not having the family along to help in the hunt and of having a vastly extended sharing network which quickly dissipates any economic gains that have been made.

However, when one turns to other more modern means of making a living, not only does he find jobs scarce, he also finds that they are rule- and regulation-infested, often require slave-like routines, and, because of the continued strength of the tradition of sharing, produce profits which, if not quickly dissipated among many relatives and friends in need of help, bring accusations of selfishness and contrariness.

The compromise often hit upon is to take part-time jobs as situational needs arise, and quickly spending the salary acquired. Such jobs include fire fighting, forestry, carpentry, construction, make-work projects, driving cab or truck, trapping, hunting or fishing.

Between jobs, the man is often unemployed and must rely on government or band aid. This undermines his traditional role and creates insecurity and frustration which are fuelled by the many new ways of living he faces.

There are many strategies for dealing with the new ways of living and every community is divided according to those who are more or less accepting of the new ways. There are those who would reject most of the new and stay true to old traditions and beliefs. There are those who will reject the old ways and try to totally immerse themselves in the new. And there are those, by far the majority, who are in-between. They respect the old ways and consciously or unconsciously tend to the old beliefs and traditions and yet who will situationally and pragmatically accept the new ways. Other strategies employed include fundamental Christianity, escape into alcoholism, and militancy.

Covert Culture Tenacity in the Face of Overt Culture Change

This description of some basic common denominators of Canadian Indian life styles might appear to some to emphasize the past and to fail to comprehend changes that have occurred through modernization. Our descriptions here might not prepare a first time casual observer of Canadian Indian life for the numerous modern patterns he will observe. He might not be prepared to encounter cars, trucks, yachts,snowmobiles, motorcycles, stereos, deep freezes, refrigerators, modern stoves, colour televisions, modern-looking housing, roads, busy airport, busy department stores, modern schools and churches, Western clothing and even the English language with current slang usages.

The error often made is to assume that fundamental changes in external patterns are always accompanied by equally fundamental changes in internal patterns. It is not generally understood that there can be considerable Westernization on the surface and yet considerable traditionalism underneath. Hallowell's work has shown that, among Algonkians, surface Westernization has far exceeded the Westernization that has taken place underneath in terms of personality and world-view. His work and our own

(Hallowell 1955: 351; Granzberg, 1976) demonstrates that, though the Native has adopted the same material culture as his urban southern neighbours, and even become a part of the same political, economic and religious system, he may be approaching these things with a very different internal perspective than that of the typical Westerner.

The specific perspective taken, however, can be quite variable. Differences occur between the various reserves and also, within reserves, between various family units and neighbourhoods. There are progressive factions and traditional factions in every community. There are those who are warm and receptive to Euro-cultural patterns and those who are cold and rejecting. And there are many fine gradations and subtle syntheses that fall between the two extremes.

But there seems to be no significant correlation between one's position in terms of rejection or acceptance of Euro-material culture and one's position in terms of traditional vs. modern world view. The most accepting and, on the surface, most Western of Natives can be operating with a very traditional world view. And the most hostile and rejecting Native can be very Western in his view of the world.

Thus, surface appearances can be misleading as to how traditional are the thoughts of the people and by and large it seems that the influence of traditional thought patterns has not been adequately recognized. This, we hope, will be somewhat remedied in the section to follow when we present details of the modern way of life presently found in the Cree community which was the focus of our research.

SECTION II -- DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY*

Daily Life

The Community is stretched out about ten miles along both banks of a river which widens into a good-sized lake where the most populous segment resides. The community is serviced by United, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal and traditional Cree religious groups. It has several grade schools and one high school which, in each of the last several years, has graduated some dozen or so children from the 12th Grade. The community basically lacks running water but does have electricity. Water is carried in buckets daily from the lake or from a pump near the school. Though one can still see the older log-cabin style homes, most of the homes now are government-built and are rectangular, one level, fragile, often draughty structures. They largely face the large bay of the river, but since the recent completion of an all-year-round road to urban centres, and with a growing number of cars and trucks now owned by the people, there is the beginning of a tendency to order housing along the increasingly important roads. The community is in transition from water-oriented to road-oriented transportation.

The men make a living in a variety of often-seasonal work projects. They engage in firefighting, fishing, fur trapping, subsistence hunting, custodial work at the nursing home, pub, airport, Bay, hospital or school, and carpentry. They do general handyman work with the construction companies, drive busses or taxis, and occasionally take month-long or even year-long or longer work sojourns in the city. There aren't enough jobs to go around, however, thus there are considerable periods of unemployment, and many families rely upon welfare help.

Women's chores include caring for children, washing without aid of running water by means of tubs heated by electric irons, cooking, sewing and keeping the home in order. Some help out at the nursing home, or at the Bay as check-out girls. Some are secretaries in the school, hospital, or band offices. Some supplement their income by making beaded leather goods (gauntlets, moccasins, jackets, belts, emblems, muklukks) and some have become teachers, nurses,or administrators.

---

* The community studied is Norway House

Socially, the community comes alive for annual celebrations and for weekly bingo games both on the radio and at schools. People keep a radio handy to hear the local radio station deliver personal messages and favourite country and western songs. They attend socials and dances at the band hall, socialize at the pub on weekends, and attend church regularly. They aid each other in times of need with elaborate patterns of sharing and reciprocity and are ever-engaged in the small-town atmosphere of trading stories, visiting, carrying on friendships, avoiding enemies, and preparing for the future.

Persistence of Traditional Values

People in this community have only recently settled permanently around the Bay store and government conveniences. Most individuals over 40 were born and raised in the bush. There they moved about seasonally, living in log cabins or, in season, tipis and wigwams. They trapped, fished, hunted, prepared deer or moose hide clothing, snowshoes, birch baskets, rabbit skin robes, medicines, and toys and learned bush lore, sacred legends and traditional ways of life.

The children of these people, on the other hand, were raised on the reserve. Many have never seen a bear or moose in the wild nor experienced the rigors of the bush -- the seasonal pattern of movement, the need to survive off the land, and the isolation. And yet, our data and other studies (Hallowell 1955) show that these children maintain the basic essence of the traditional value system. This includes, as previously mentioned, stress on stoicism, non-interference, concrete-pragmatic orientation, non-causality and non-lineality and a wary, cautionary stance.

These patterns persist through the continuation of the Cree language or the usage of English distorted to conform to Cree grammar and idiom, through the persistence of Cree myth and folklore and through the persistence of parental models of behaviour which exhibit the traditional style. We shall describe these patterns in more detail, referring to the way they are manifest in tests we have administered to traditional and acculturated Cree children and to a group of Euro-Canadian children.

1. Non-interference

The Cree were traditionally hunters of small scattered animal populations. They pursued their game in small scattered bands each consisting of one or two families usually patrilineally related. The necessities of the hunt required an assertive personality. The food supply was not domesticated and raised locally, requiring only responsible care to exploit. Rather it was distant, elusive and undomesticated and needed to be sought out assertively. The quest, however, could be greatly facilitated by agreements with and knowledge of the various "persons" or "wills" that populated the world and controlled many of the events that took place in it.

The Cree boy was prepared for the assertive necessities of the hunt by a basically non-interfering child training in which the boy's behaviour was given free rein. Except for rare occasions of direct physical punishment, the type of sanctioning practiced was indirect ridicule or teasing, and this was not of an abstractly moral nature but rather very situationally oriented toward whether or not the behaviour would produce the desired effects.

Moral constraints were played down while the practical efficiency of behaviour was played up. This helped promote the freedom for exploitative assertion atmosphere that was desired.

The non-interference theme continues today in the community in customs of child-rearing. Children are allowed to pretty well set their own pace of life. It is largely their choice as to when they arise in the morning (usually late) and when they go to bed at night (also late) and when they eat and where they go and who they play with and where they sleep (often at relative's homes). And children are not stopped from experimenting with knives, slingshots, matches and axes.

The persistence of traditional forms of communication in the community also fuels the non-interference theme. One of the characteristics of Cree communication is that much of it is non-verbal. The modern Cree prefers to let his happenstance presence at places and his preparations for activities speak of his intentions rather than his verbal pronouncements. This may be because it is easier for the other person to ignore a request spoken with body action than one given verbally, thus preserving the other's freedom of choice. When verbal statements are made, they are frequently couched in subtle metaphor and analogy. in fact the Cree language is so inappropriate to an interference mode of interaction that when a direct interfering verbal action is required, as is occasionally the case in child-rearing, the parent often turns to the English language with its more direct system of communication.

2. Non-causality

The persistence of non-interference themes in the community is, it would seem, one of the reasons why children demonstrate a non-causal view of the world. It is a way of thinking which is highly compatible with a view of the world which emphasizes that each aspect has its own will and purpose which must be respected and given freedom. It is not compatible with the basic assumption of Western science and Western religion that a large overall force is at work which acts uniformly upon all things. The non-causality of children is indicated in our test data by the fact that their stories often seem, to Western eyes, to lack plot, connectedness, and focus or direction. In other words, the Western concept of causality is largely absent. As an example, when Cree and Euro subjects were asked to make up stories about scenes observed in photographs, information on background and setting was given three times as frequently by Euro-Canadian children as by the Cree children (P=.06). Explanations of "why" something happened in a story were given more than twice as frequently by Euro-Canadian children as by the Cree children (P=.001).

Another source of non-causality in the community is the theme of emotional control and its attendant concrete-situational orientation. This theme, too, spurs a view of the world which entails concern for detail and uniqueness of event rather than abstract, universal patterns of causality applicable everywhere.

3. Emotional control

The Cree hunter was required to not infrequently deal with life and death situations. It was understood that efficiency in dealing with abruptly confronted life and death situations entailed emotional control (Preston). Fear, aggression, grief, self-pity and panic had to be controlled and repressed in favor of cool calculated efficient action. A number of institutions arose which promoted emotional control and reticence. Those that persist to-day in the community include concrete-situational orientation, swaddling, certain aspects of the structure of the Cree language and certain aspects of Cree body movement patterns.

a. concrete-situational orientation and emotional control

As mentioned above, the child's behaviour was not criticized in terms of whether or not it took into account abstract moral principles but in terms of whether or not it took into account concrete situational factors that would effect its success. The Cree child developed the habit of refraining from abstract general considerations of situations and instead focused upon details that had to be surmounted for survival. It was a habit well-suited to the need for emotional control and cool calculated reasoning in crises situations. The hunter couldn't afford to have his actions hampered by self-pity or fear that might arise from an abstract consideration of his plight.

This is well illustrated by a story told by an older Cree man. He was weak and hungry and pulling his toboggan behind him. All at once six wolves, driven to desperate actions by their own hunger, headed toward him and began to surround him. If ever a situation called for cool, efficient action certainly this one did. There was no room for self-pity or fear that might arise out of an abstract consideration of his plight. He was served by his training in emotional control. Cooly controlling his emotions, he turned his toboggan over, crouched behind it, got out his gun and waited for the wolves to get close enough so he could pick off the leader without missing, for if he missed, they would all attack at once. He didn't miss and as the other wolves surrounded him somewhat confused he picked each of the others off in turn.

That concrete-situational orientation is still a habitual pattern in the community is seen in the responses of children to TAT's. In comparison to Euro-Canadian children who were able to detach themselves from the immediate stimuli in the pictures and let their minds wander into abstract conjectural areas, the Cree children gave descriptive, stimulus-tied responses ($p = .05$).

Other evidence of the continuance of the situational orientation in the community comes from the responses of subjects to a question about what a boy did when, during a walk, he came to a stream. Cree children gave significantly more short range, immediate stimuli-related responses than Euro-Canadian children ($P = .05$). While Euro-Canadian children would likely say that the boy would wade through at a shallow spot, or swim across or make a boat to go across, the Cree children usually had the boy take a drink of water or play there for a while.

A related experiment demonstrated a similar contrast between Cree on the one hand and Euro-Canadian on the other. This was a delay-of-gratification experiment in which children were asked whether, as a reward for taking tests, they would like a candy bar right away or would elect to wait a week and then have two candy bars. The Cree children reacted to the immediate stimulus of presently available candy and more than 2/3 took one right away. The Euro-Canadian children split 50/50 on their choice ($P = .01$).

Finally, responses to the sentence completion question "the man was sick because ....?" reveals that the Cree, as compared to Euro-subjects, more frequently separate out one part of the body and explain its particular illness rather than conceptualizing an illness for the body as a whole ($P = .01$). This is in keeping with concrete-situational orientations. Traditionally the parts of the body were separated and independent. Each part had a will of its own. A favourite tale of wiisakatjik (the trickster) finds him berating his anus for plotting against him and not carrying out the responsibility he had given it of standing guard while he slept. A similar situational conception of the body is present in the response a Cree friend gave the researcher when asked why he didn't take a pill to settle his pain. He said, "It's my feet that hurt, not my heart or other parts of my body. The pill goes where I don't need it."

b. swaddling and emotional control

Children were swaddled tightly in a cradle board from birth to often five, six or seven years of age. They learned to stay still and observe and keep their bodies under control. The moose hunt and other hunt requirements demanded a similar body control. Often the Cree hunter had to wait in a boat near the potential site where a moose might water himself.

He would have to stay quiet and motionless, often for hours, yet keeping an alert ear and eye ready for signs of the presence of the moose.

Swaddling today is not practiced as universally nor as intensely as it once was. Most mothers today only swaddle during the first year. After that they switch to the crib where the child is allowed free exploration.

c. Cree language and emotional control

The Cree language teaches emotional control through the unaspirated nature of its phonemes. It has often been observed by Westerners that the Cree seem to bite off their words and swallow them. This would be noticeable to a Westerner who is not used to unaspirated sounds and who expects to hear consonants explode out at him.

d. body movement patterns and emotional control

The Cree child also learns emotional control through copying the body movement patterns of his parents and kin. Gestures are not effusive. In dance the upper body is kept rigid, the arms extended and unmoving at the sides. Facial expressions are also controlled and there is no elaborate greeting or parting gestures. Even the return of a long absent loved one does not bring about great surface emotional display as it would in Western society.

The effectiveness of these forces in promoting emotional control and a reserved, closed self is seen in the analysis of the draw-a-man test. As compared to Euro children, Cree children drew smaller, less detailed, less open stanced men ($P = .001$).

4. Pessimism

Pessimism is another feature of the need to be prepared to confront potential life and death situations. It is suitable in a world where events could take a sudden dangerous turn at any moment. A rather defensive reticent stance is needed to maximize one's survival potential. One cannot "leap before looking" in the bush or one might fall through the ice.

Pessimism persists in the frequent "if God wills" condition placed upon future planning, in the extreme caution with which estimates are made of the probable success of planned hunts or fishing excursions and in the numerous bad omens that are attributed to various events, such as the sighting of mamagwash$_o$ (little people), the hooking of a white fish, the presence of an owl or frog or snake and making fun of people. Pessimism is seen in our test responses in the more frequent attribution of negative outcomes to situations in TATs by Cree children as compared to Euro children (P= .04).

5. Non-lineality

Part of the traditional conception on non-lineal time can be traced to the stability of the traditional system. Events were repetitive and cyclical. There was no evidence of a history of change and development as is found in the West. The inventory of tools and techniques remained relatively unchanged over time. People came and went, but the cycle of the seasons and the cycle of social, ceremonial and economic behaviour remained unchanged. A concept of repetitive, circular time seemed only natural. Behaviour it seemed was not created afresh by individuals, but was merely brought into actuality from already pre-existing potentials.

This non-linear orientation of the Cree is still largely present. Euro children, when asked to estimate a thirty-second time span, were on average, 13.1 seconds in error. Cree children on average, erred by 20.1 seconds. On a second trial, after the children were allowed to watch 30 seconds tick off on a stop watch, the average error of Euro children was 8.2 seconds while, for Cree children, it was 14.1 seconds (P =.0001).

Non-linear time orientation is also evident in the daily behaviour of the Cree. In conversations they often fail to make time references and usually leave a Western observer wondering when the activity took place. The non-linear orientation to time is also found in the Cree language. There are no past, present and future categories of grammar as are present in English, and as a result, Cree often make errors when using English tenses.

The Cree are aware of their differing view of time and occasionally respond to a Westerner's invitation to do something at a given time with "Is that Cree time or White time?" In Cree time the vicissitudes of life are such that one would not like to pin another down to presenting himself somewhere at a precise time. This is too interfering of the other person's freedom of choice.

Acculturation Pressures and Personality Change

The community is undergoing considerable acculturative pressure. The impact of the Hudson's Bay, churches, schools, movies, television, radio, telephone, magazines, Euro and Metis people, electricity, cars, planes, Western clothes and utensils is making Euro beliefs and values more influential. These factors, and resultant sedentariness, money economy, welfare, family allowance, alcoholism, and conflicts between traditional and modern values, explain our test findings that Cree children in the study community* have lower self-esteem, lower independence, higher aggression and higher anxiety, than Cree children in our control, less acculturated community,** and that they have higher aggression and lower self-esteem than Euro children. These conditions seem to exert their effect by removing a sense of direction from the child's life. Living an aimless life, the child has little incentive to mature and, with a low level of emotional maturity, has a difficult time handling the stepped-up pace at which he is exposed to knowledge of the world, to new ideas and to new experiences. He reacts with dependence, narcissisim, anxiety, aggression and low self-esteem.

This was not always the case. Traditionally the Cree child was early made aware of the need to repress selfish narcissism for altruistic role behaviour and had considerable help in doing so. He had appropriate parental models who were diligent, self-sacrificing hard workers. He had skill developing chores such as carrying water, gathering and cutting wood, setting rabbit snares, gathering berries and seeds, helping to clean and prepare game, and helping to repair the cabin each new season. He had natural bush necessities and restraints to keep his behaviour in line. He had a functioning religion and effective discipline from parents who were respected. And finally there was ceremonial celebration of many of the important steps in his development to maturity. This ceremony provided him with the incentive to work hard to develop the skills that demonstrated his movement to a higher stage of development and which, when achieved, made him the focus of celebration. Among these ceremonies were a celebration of his first steps outside the home, a feasting of his first successful hunts, and a group supported quest for a vision, which, when successful, resulted in a new name, new

---

* Norway House

** Oxford House

personality, and a prestigious place in the curing and conjuring ceremonial and leadership in campfire song, dance and storytelling.

Thus with this effective guidance, the child's identity and direction in life was secure and he was able to slowly and surely surmount his growing up problems to achieve mature self confident behaviour.

The acculturation forces that enter the picture today erode the traditional maturity of role orientation in children. The task of growing up and finding purpose and meaning to life, and reason to sacrifice and to work hard and to give up childhood indulgences and narcissism is considerably more difficult for today's child than it was for his predecessor. He has to tend to the task without many of the external and internal supports and guides that traditionally were available and which traditionally provided the rewards, punishments and incentives that directed his behaviour development.

The breakdown of the reward, punishment and incentive system may be traced to the following: a presence of too many relatives and friends acting upon an ideal of communal sharing of property, absence of a clear definition of maturity and goals in life, absence of survival necessities, and absence of effective parental discipline.

1. Too many relatives and friends acting upon the ideal of communal sharing of property

Once a system of welfare, family allowance and largely free housing and medical care is introduced into the traditional setting, with the services localized in one area where a school, a bay and a church are also present, and once Euro laws are enforced, especially the one that says that children between the ages of seven and sixteen must go to school, then inordinate pressure mounts for the Cree to give up the hunting and gathering way of life and settle down around the services that the Euro-Canadian has offered.

Families now increase in size with a scarcity of government housing and with a reduced reason for spacing children. Two babies close in age can now be more easily cared for with the settled life and its reduced movement and with more numerous baby sitters and other services. And, with each new child, welfare and family allowance increases.

With increased family size and with many previously scattered families coming together permanently in one location, the population density of the living area increases dramatically. The increased population places a great strain on the traditional practice of communal sharing of property, especially when the property is scarce, very desirable, and takes hard work to acquire.

In a situation where everyone is not producing equally, and where a plethora of relatives demanding their fair share quickly dissipates any gain acquired through hard work, the incentive to work hard and sacrifice to accomplish something is lost. This is seen in the fact that at one time, before the population of the community reached above the 1000 persons mark, the people had gardens and grew potatoes and other vegetables. Now gardens are rare. They say it wouldn't do them any good to grow food. The children would steal it. Youth coming back from a period of fire-fighting or construction work have a similar complaint. They say they get an inordinate amount of pressure from their friends and kin to "spring" for drinks all around and that this quickly uses up any money they may have saved by their hard work. This pressure comes from the traditional ideal that a hunter returning from a successful hunt should share his good fortune.

2. Absence of a clear definition of maturity and goals in life

The conflict between traditional and modern definitions of maturity and accomplishment confuses the child and makes him hesitate in devoting much energy to any one goal direction. He is faced with a situation where rewards from one sector for a certain kind of goal directed behaviour are counterbalanced by punishments from another sector. He is unclear as to which way to go.

There are great jealousies between the traditional and modern sectors of society in the possession of the child's loyalties. The school is the symbol of modernism. Parents are the symbol of traditionalism. The two are in frequent conflict. From the parent's point of view, very few would dispute the value of an education, but what they do dispute is the value of the other things that often come with it (e.g. selfishness with property, disrespect for parents and traditions, movement to the city). From the school's point of view, very few would dispute the value of having pride in one's traditions, but what they do dispute is the wisdom of keeping some of those traditions going (e.g.,the Cree language, shamanism, emotional reserve, non-abstractness and non-causality).

Of course not all parents are traditional and not all school people are modern. In fact, the neat separation of people into these polarities is a distortion of the real situation. Most people are somewhere in between, with fine distinctions between them in how much modernism and traditionalism they feel is advisable.

The child's choice is thus not simply a matter of going traditional or going modern. It is much more complicated than that. There are numerous intermediate pathways available to the child, each with its own problems and its own means of balancing and integrating the two sides.

Since none of the numerous pathways dominate, there can be no Cree-monial which defines each step along the way and which provides rewards and fulfilment for the sacrifice that is entailed in making each transitional step.

3. Absence of survival necessities

Traditionally there was a consensus that the need to survive by hunting and gathering was a primary value in life and was an end to which behaviour had to be focused. Today survival is through the dollar. But unlike the hunt where it is clear that certain behaviours bring success (e.g., reticence, concrete-situational orientation, pessimism, knowledge of animal and plant habits, preparation of nets, traps and weapons, body health, assertiveness and self-reliance), and others bring failure, it is not as clear in the hunt for the dollar which behaviour brings success and which brings failure.

In fact, there is no total failure. Regardless of what one does, there is always money through welfare and family allowance upon which to survive. Hence there is no clear survival necessity to define goal direction and to give the child an incentive to mature.

4. Absence of effective parental discipline

A major factor eroding the effectiveness of parental discipline is the disrespect children have for the father which has been caused by the schooling of children in Euro values and the breakdown of the father's traditional role.

a. schooling of children in Euro values

Schools, television,movies, radio and magazines introduce values and behaviours in the child which, because of their conflict with father's values and behaviour, cause a generation gap and a mutual disapproval of certain behaviour in each other.

One of the areas of conflict is with regard to standard of living goals. From Euro culture the child learns that he is impoverished. He begins to see his father as a failure, as being poor and unable to provide an adequate standard of living. The child will desire a "better life" and may wish to leave the reserve.

In addition, Euro culture makes the child aware of his "Indianness" in its negative sense. The child sees such labels attached to his race as "heathen", "pagan", "uncivilized", "drunkard". He even comes to identify with the cowboys over the Indians. Many children dress up in cowboy clothes and see the cowboy figure as the hero. The child may come to disrespect his father for being an Indian.

A more subtle area of conflict arises from the low level of understanding modern children achieve in the Cree language. They are taught English in the schools and often have to observe rules about not speaking Cree in school. They may come to view the Cree language as bad and facility in English as prestigious. Thus, even though Cree is spoken in most homes, it is not practiced as much as formerly and there is a failure to understand it at a high level, especially with the absence of bush experiences to give meaning to many of the analogies and metaphors.

The child is therefore unable to reach a mature understanding of the philosophy of Cree traditions and fails to appreciate the father's knowledge and expertise.

b. breakdown of the father's traditional role

A number of institutions now exist in the community which, by providing services to the child that used to be provided by the father, reduce the father's role. The most obvious one is welfare and family allowance. This situation, combined with the presence of the money economy and the Hudson's Bay, undermines the father's role as provider.

Another institution that takes over for the father in servicing the child is the school. The school takes over the father's role of teacher, and, in part, it also takes over his role as disciplinarian. The father used to teach bush skills but these are no longer necessary. The child now needs knowledge of the Euro world and this is obtained more from teacher's, from peers, and from television than from parents. Part of the father's teaching used to be through stories and folklore, now the child turns to teachers and television for story telling.

Discipline is also now a function of the school and it is interesting to note that although parents are concerned about occasional excessive discipline in the schools (as they see it), they are adamant that teachers should be firm and should use the strap when necessary. Parents now feel inadequate to handle the discipline of children. Traditionally they relied on bush restraints and slow development and continual chaperoning to make the child behave. None of these things are possible today. Within the safety of the reserve, children roam far and wide without worry of getting lost or being attacked by animals or bush "bogeymen". They have many places to hide and play and explore out of the range of parental eyes and ears. And they group in sizeable number, using their combined strength to scheme and evade parental control.

Not only can they avoid bush dangers and parental chaperoning, they also now grow up much faster than before and they are more worldly , curious, and adventuresome. They are not afraid to go out and explore. This is because they have been raised in a freer environment.

With reduced infant mortality and more security in the baby's safety, it seems mothers are now willing to invest emotion in the child earlier than before, knowing the investment is fairly secure. They name the child earlier, talk to it earlier and generally recognize it as a "person" earlier. And, too, realizing that openness and willingness to take chances are requirements for success in the Euro-Canadian's world, they prepare the child by a less restricting, freer child-rearing - - they wean from the breast earlier, take the child out of swaddling in a cradle and put him into a crib where he can learn to stand and explore earlier, provide "walkers" so he can walk earlier and let him play alone outside earlier. The child thus walks, talks and plays outside alone earlier than before. And when the child interacts with the many people around him and sees all the things happening around him (there are no trees to block his view as there used to be), he quickly becomes worldly, gets new ideas of sex, drugs, stealing, aggression, etc., and hence becomes more of a discipline problem than ever.

As a result of these factors the child often does not identify with his father and does not internalize him as a vicarious source of pleasure. Without the internal father figure (or, as some would say, without a well-developed superego), the child lacks an internal model for behaviour and an internal "policeman" who rewards and punishes according to a specific behaviour direction. This is a serious obstacle in his attempt to find meaning,purpose and direction in life.

5. Test evidence of personality change

Evidence of the child's conflict with his father is seen in the TAT responses of the children. As compared to Euro and traditional Cree children, the acculturated Cree child in our study community more frequently tells stories about punishing parents and evil parents ($p=.02$).

Evidence of a general lack of goal direction is seen in the fact that children in the study community tend to describe themselves and other persons in terms of play and self-indulgent activity whereas more traditional Cree children tend to describe themselves and others in terms of role and altruistic behaviour (p .06).

Evidence of the undisciplined nature of the child in our study community is seen in the undisplaced, unrepressed nature of their aggression imagery. They more frequently use imagery of direct aggression against other people than more traditional Cree and Euro children ($p = .02$). Euro children are more likely to displace aggression inward upon self. Traditional Cree children tend to displace aggression onto animals and inanimate objects. An example of the different way Euro, traditional Cree and the acculturated Cree children handle aggression is seen in their responses to the sentence completion item "The boy had a knife and he . . .?" Whereas the acculturated Cree boys were the most likely to say that he would stab somebody, traditional Cree boys said he threw it in the ground or carved something and Euro boys said that he hurt himself. Imagery of a boy punishing himself could be interpreted as evidence of superego behaviour. This is infrequent in the community under study.

Evidence of the child's general disorientation and confusion is seen in the anxiety displayed by characters in their stories. They more frequently read fear into the behaviour of characters in stories than did traditional Cree or Euro children ($p = .02$).

Finally the lack of skill and lack of ability to handle all the incoming stimuli is seen in the low confidence and low self-esteem of the children. This is evident in the draw-a-man test where these children draw smaller, less detailed and less open stanced figures than Euro or traditional Cree children.

6. Methods of adaptation

How does the child adapt to the lack of incentives, to the lack of guidelines and to the anxieties and insecurities of acculturation? He responds to the lack of guidelines and incentives by refusing to plan for the future and by escaping into excitements of the present; he represses his doubts, anxieties and insecurities with a macho type bravado and with a frustration releasing aggression; and he becomes dependent on his peers for support and commiseration and on the Euro-Canadian for survival.

a. escapes

More than the traditional Cree child or the child or earlier days the acculturated child in our study community plays. He uses play as a escape from the pressures of acculturation. He has been raised in a freer, exploration-encouraging atmosphere and he is willing to try things. In the crowded, exposed living conditions around him he sees many thing to try - sex, drugs, rebellion, stealing and any number of faddish behaviours (especially those introduced through movies and television) like kung fu combat, sword fighting, new styles of dress and verbal interaction and Evel Knievel daredevil behaviour on bicycles. Games include general chasing and wrestling and mischief making, king of the hill challenges, exploration of dangerous areas like the school after hours and the teacher's compound, chasing dogs, horses and birds with sling shots, going visiting, playing hockey, baseball and basketball, and going to evening dances, canteens, socials, movies and bingo.

The problem is that the child's adventuresome spirit and "worldliness" and exposure to ideas and opportunities gets him into situations that his emotional maturity cannot handle. He doesn't know how far to go and where to stop. He doesn't know when there are dangers. Children have been killed through exploring the excitement of glue sniffing, aerosol and paint thinner sniffing, and "blackout" games. They have become pregnant through sex. And their rebellion and stealing causes damage and gets them into trouble with the police.

But through it all they seem to give each other support and they display a surface bravado that keeps the anxieties and insecurities under control.

b. bravado

The effects upon a child of having a weakened father figure and a strong mother figure and of living with discrimination and poverty have been studied by a number of people (D'Andrade, Harrington, Burton & Whiting, Lewis, Kardiner & Ovesey) and a dominant theme of their work is the finding that a boy raised under such conditions becomes insecure about his masculinity and compensates through "super masculine" behaviour. Such behaviour is visible among children in the study community. They group into all-male gangs at around the age of seven (this sex segregation of play coming much earlier now than previously when boys and girls still played house and cowboys and Indians together up until puberty). They dress "macho" with boots and faded blue demin motorcycle-type jackets and jeans. They engage in frequent fights and swearing and testing of the dominance hierarchy by bluffs and demands for submission from those lower down. They are vain and sensitive to insult and maintain a sexual bravado with the girls. They engage in "chicken games" whereby one must show courage in standing up to teachers and parents and each other, and, later on, they are likely to engage in wife beating and drunken brawling.

Our test findings also show evidence of this "supermasculine" adaptation of the children. It may be interpreted as one of the factors for the greater dominance and sex ($p = .04$)in the stories of these children as compared to traditional Cree children, and for the greater person-oriented aggression of these children as compared to traditional Cree and Euro children. It may also account for the fact that of all the draw-a-mans from all the children only three drew strong men lifting bar bells and two of the three were in the study community.

c. dependence

Because of the lack of direction and incentive, children do not develop self-reliant skills. They do not learn bush skills and bush lore. Very few have seen a live moose, wolf, bear, or a dog team. They do not know how to track, set snares, build shelters or prepare a proper fire. Instead they learn to be dependent on the Euro-Canadian and, indeed, some achieve considerable renown as highly-skilled hunters of Euro services. "What would happen if the White man went away? " parents lament: "What would the children do then ?" "All they know," parents say, "is money; all they know is how to put a dollar next to the cash register." One father's recent experience is not untypical. He took his young teenage son on a hunt and, the first night, was told by the child that he wanted to go home to his soft bed and watch Bugs Bunny on television.

This dependence is revealed in our test data by the fact that children in our study community as compared to more traditional Cree children more frequently solve hypothetical sentence completion problems by imagining that the characters seek help rather than relying on their own resources ($p = .001$). An example is a TAT picture of a young Cree girl looking off into the distance with a finger in her mouth and a somewhat fearful look on her face. While children in the study community read a resire for mother into her behaviour ($p = .003$), the more traditional children more likely suggest that she has a toothache or that she is afraid of something or has been hurt without suggesting that she's seeking help to solve her problem. It is interesting to note that the Freudian interpretation of orality being a projection of dependence is supported by the fact that children in the study community are the ones who most frequently refer to eating, the mouth, and food ($p = .06$).

Summary

We may summarize our interpretation of the culture and personality dynamics in the study community as revealed by our field work and test analysis by saying that children are caught in a bind between traditional values and modern values in which they lack both external and internal guides to enable them to successfully find a direction out. They react to the ensuing anxiety, frustration and low self-esteem and confidence by seeking escapes and "excitement", by tension-reducing aggression, by putting up a brave "macho" front, and by dependence upon peers, parents and Euro-Canadians.

These traits of children in the study community are found among children in most Canadian Indian communities undergoing acculturative stress. These traits, along with stoicism, non-interference, concrete-pragmatic orientation, non-causality and non-lineality,demonstrate the representativeness of the study community and the probability that statements about the impact of these traditions upon the impact and meaning of television may be considered as applicable to all Canadian Indian peoples.

Detailed treatment of the animistic traditions of the community have been reserved for the next two sections which describe the historical role of animistic conceptions of communication in the community and the impact of these traditions upon television perceptions and usages. These next two sections, while beginning the analysis of the impact and meaning of television in the community, complete the evidence for considering it representative of the Canadian Indian experience in general.

SECTION III -- HISTORY OF COMMUNICATION MEDIA IN THE COMMUNITY

Traditional Media

Traditionally, long-range live communication was attempted by means of spiritual media. This media could be consciously controlled or it could inform involuntarily without volition. Major avenues by which spiritual media were revealed included dreams, drums, shaking tents, visions, voices, bone dice, shoulder scapula crackage under fire, and reflections in a film of water washed over mica. Some examples follow.

1. Shaking tent

Conjuring by means of the shaking tent has characteristics of the seance and indeed, among Jesuits, (Dailey 1972) was thought of as a seance utilizing the devil. It was a widespread phenomenon with only minor variations from coast to coast.

The shaman goes into a tubular tent and by drum, prayer and tobacco, calls upon various spirits to enter. Many of these are his personal spirit helpers or the spirit helpers of those sitting around the tent on the outside. They may be the spirits of plants, trees, animals, people (living or dead), stones, diseases, winds, etc. Even the spirit of the White Man has been known to appear (Hallowell 1942: 47-49).

When the shaman enters the tent it begins to shake (hence its name) and it shakes more or less vigorously as the spirits are more or less active within it. One of the main activities of the spirits is to report on occurrences in distant places. Someone sitting outside the tent, for example, may inquire about the well-being of a relative. The shaman may then send one of his spiritual helpers to find the concerned man's relative and to report on his condition. It may also happen that the soul spirit of the relative is summoned into the tent for direct questioning. Spirits summoned into the tent for questioning are reputed to have to answer honestly, as if in a hypnotic state.

When the shaman is inside the tent he can see great distances and with great clarity. He may also be able to see the spirits, although, according to the literature (Hallowell 1942: 20) and personal reports of informants, this is not frequent.

The spirits not only function to bring news, but their aid can also be enlisted for curing, foretelling the future, locating lost objects and teleporting objects from one point to another. The spirits are also enlisted for defensive purposes or to avenge insults and injuries. For example, they may help fight off such evil spirits as the cannibal witigo monster. Or they may help to punish an evil man. In the latter case, the evil man's soul is summoned to the shaking tent and the shaman's spirit helpers then guard all exits and do not allow the soul to return to its body, thus killing the man. During World War II, the souls of enemy soldiers were summoned into the shaking tent and questioned about their plans and strategies.

Epic battles between powerful shamen are sometimes fought in the shaking tent. With their respective spirit helpers assembled, a battle royal takes place. The violent shakings of the tent and the sounds of the spirits and shamen provide great intrigue and excitement.

Not all aspects of the shaking tent performance are serious, however. An important part of the phenomenon is entertainment. Often the spirits and spectators engage in humorous repartee. Nevertheless it should be noted that children are warned about going near the tent, for it is felt that they are not ready to deal with the powerful forces there and that they could be harmed.

The shaking tent performance, today, is of infrequent occurrence. It is still found in some of the more isolated communities, but in the more accessible, more acculturated ones, though its memory and meaning remain strong, its performance has largely died out.

2. Dreaming

Dreams were powerful revelations about distant happenings, about the future or about things that are hidden and need to be known. A person may dream where animals are to be located, or about enemies to be avoided, or may see distant events or even spiritual events which reveal power sources that can be tapped through learning a song or retaining an object that is connected with the dream content. A dream is interpreted as the wanderings of the soul or shadow during sleep or as the visitation by other wandering spirits. They often reveal core characteristics of an individual and fundamental directions for life which must be heeded in order for a person to obtain a full and proper life.

Tensions of various kinds are often interpreted as unfulfilled dreams - and shamen may prepare for curing by first asking a patient what they have been dreaming. However, care must be taken, for dream power may be lost if the dream content is carelessly revealed.

Youth are trained to seek power dreams in isolated places. A personal guardian spirit (usually in the form of an animal) may appear and become so identified with the youth's future that he may have a secret name associated with the animal and may even be attributed with the ability to turn into the animal or conjure it when its help is desired (Densmore). These conceptions about dreams were well-nigh universal among Canadian Indians and continue to be very influential.

3. Divining

Scapulomancy is a very widespread means by which Canadian Indians extract information from the spirit world. This involves the use of a shoulder scapula bone from an animal, often a moose or caribou. The scapula is charred in fire and the resulting cracks are read as if they represented a map on which game are marked, or lost objects, or even answers to queries about illness or sorcery (Speck).

Drums can serve a similar function. The drum beat may be interpreted as the voice of spirits controlling the beat of the drummer's hand.

Mica divining is also widespread and involves reading the future or the location of lost parties or objects in reflections in a film of water washed over the mica. Of course only a trained shaman can have success with this or any other form of divining, as, for example, the tossing of bone dice or playing cat's cradle.

Modern Media

1. Telescope

Probably the first Western communication medium to have had a significant impact upon the Native was the telescope. This mechanism "magically" caused distant, undecipherable objects to appear close up, large and clear. The effects were so similar to the shaking tent usage in which distant objects were brought near that the word for shaking tent (Koosapachigan) was frequently used to refer to the telescope (opachigan). Later, this word was also used to refer to radio and then, still later, to telephone and television.

2. Camera and mirror

The next Western media to appear had equally magical effects but more disturbing connotations. These were the camera and mirror.

The camera was early feared as a soul capturing device. Densmore (1929,p.70) reporting on a Chippewa group, states the following: "There seems to be inherent in the mind of the Indian the belief that the essence of an individual or of a 'spirit' dwells in its picture or other representations." In connection with a picture she took of a Chippewa child which later died, she comments that though many felt taking a picture of a child could cause its death, the child's mother assured her that she "wasn't superstitious" (1929,p.51) . A more recent illustration of this belief that the camera is a soul-capturing device comes from a man in a Manitoba Saulteaux reserve who requested that his drum not be photographed because he felt the picture would capture its soul and render it powerless (Steinbring 1977) we may also note that Curtis, an early photographer of Native life, was known as the "shadow catcher" (Knickerbocker, 1977).

The mirror had similar connotations and was felt to reflect the shadow. It could be used magically to summon spirits. It was a widespread trade item and occurred often as a ritual object in shamanistic medicine bags or in dances.

Next to appear on the scene was the radio. Two-way radios appeared in the early 1900's. These had limited range but were useful if trappers wished to call home (they carried a compact "Walkie-Talkie" with them). They were also useful for limited communication between nearby communities. They were emergency units to summon doctors, missionaries, or relatives. They were not entertainment media.

"Entertainment" media entered in the 40's and 50's with the one-way radio, mainly battery operated, and movies. Country and western music, Sunday religious programs, and the news and weather were popular radio programs. Westerns were the most popular movies, and when families began to reside permanently around Bay stores in the 50's instead of seasonally moving from winter to summer grounds, they were shown on the reserve at least once a day.

3. Telephone

In the sixties, there were attempts at telephone service but it was still of the 2-way radio type (with only very short conversation and limited coverage). It was not until the 70's that consistent communication between reserves and the south was produced by installation of microwave towers and introduction of modern style telephones and television.

4. Television

Now on the horizon, and already implemented in a few areas, is satellite television service. This provides a great potential for local, pluralistic, even Native-produced, programming.

There were differences between regions as to how soon these various Western services arrived. Those closest to large centers of Euro-Canadian population or strategic as mining centers were serviced years earlier than those areas more remote or less strategic. At this writing, there are still Native communities in Canada that have no access to television or modern telephones.

SECTION IV -- THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION IN THE COMMUNITY

Anticipations of the Arrival of Television

The gossip and speculation that preceeded the arrival of television presents a good example of the nature of news communication at Norway House prior to the availability of the newscasting services of television. When the author arrived in the community in October 1973, he was pounced upon by many people as a source of valuable information. For with newspapers being a rarity, with radio service seldom relevant to the community's interests* and with no telephones, news from the Western world was scarce. News came from visitors and from visits by the people to the outside world. It came through gossip and personal contacts. But it was often distorted and untrustworthy. On his first day there, more than a dozen people asked the author when television was coming.

In December, 1973, television arrived, and was received with a mixture of hope and fear. It was hoped that it would improve news service, relieve boredom, keep kids home at night and out of trouble, improve English, and heighten awareness of the outside world. But it was feared that it would reduce the strength of social bonds, increase the generation gap, lower self-esteem, and speed the loss of cultural traditions and language. The next five years saw the realization of many of these hopes and fears.

Early Impact

Within a few months after the completion of a microwave hookup to Thompson, which succeeded in bringing the C.B.C.'s television signals to Norway House, approximately half the community had television sets. They were purchased mostly at the two local Hudson's Bay stores.

Although many had previously seen television in trips to Winnipeg or Thompson or on video-tape at the school, still the whole community was glued to the few television sets that were initially available. The people that had the first sets in their homes found themselves running theatres. The Cree pattern of sharing was such that most every one who was a neighbour or friend or relative felt free to come and go at any hour to see television.

---

* A local relevant radio station was installed several years later.

This initial viewing pattern caused the early owners of television to lose sleep and privacy, and, as well, any stock of food in the house. Some even reacted by moving away for a while, or temporarily disconnecting their sets and taking them out.

The schools felt the effects of this early impact. School children were now coming to school in the morning, if they came at all, bleary-eyed and tired and often late.

At first everything was watched, and soon the children were able to memorize the schedule of programs for every day of the week. Early favourites were Gilligan's Island, Bugs Bunny, cartoons, Edge of Night, Walt Disney, detective shows, and the Late Movie.

After about half a year, almost every home had a television set. These were at first almost all black and white sets. But a few homes already had colour. At about the same time too, with spring arriving, children were outdoors more, and watching television with more discrimination.

Two years after the arrival of television, children were fully acclimated to television and even favourite programs did not draw as much attention as they used to. In one class, when children were asked to watch a particular educational Walt Disney program, only two out of fifteen had done so the next day. The teacher reported that the year before, when children were given a similar assignment, almost all watched the program which was assigned. Today, on an average, during the school week, children watch about four hours of television a day. This is about the same as is reported for the typical non-Native. In a recent survey, on the basis of self-reports, it is found that the average Native adult watched about 3.6 hours of television per day.

Later Effects

In the five years since television's arrival at Norway House, members of this community believe that they have seen some clear social, economic, educational, and behavioural effects, some of them good and some of them bad. The following enumeration of effects is based both on what members of the community have told us and on our own impressions derived from repeated visits to the community in each of the five years of television exposure.

1. Social effects

Movie attendance has declined. The number of movies shown each week has fallen from six a week to one or two a week. A given individual used to see approximately three movies a week but now sees about one a week. The movie "industry" in the community is not as lucrative now as it once was.

Children are staying home more than they used to. They used to be out late at night. Some could be seen still out at midnight playing with the school's playground equipment. Fewer are doing this now. For example, at five p.m. on Saturday, when Bugs Bunny is on, all is clear and quiet outside and in the evenings, quite often, the kids are at home watching the Late Movie.

Visiting has been reduced. And when people do visit, television watching often takes over for conversation. In this regard, even seating arrangements in homes have changed to the detriment of social interaction. Many homes now arrange their furniture so that the television can be viewed from all seating positions. This creates a theatre type setting, and people are not looking at each other as before in a circular arrangement.

Some re-scheduling of social activities has taken place. For example, in the first year of television exposure, the meeting time of the Kaddets had to be changed because it was conflicting with Gilligan's Island, one of the most popular shows. The coffee hours in several businesses like the hospital and the motel had to change so as to coincide with the half-hour when Edge of Night was on. But interestingly, Bingo nights have remained ever popular.

A certain disagreement over the value of television, largely between young and old, has provided a concrete issue upon which generational differences in evaluation of the Euro-Canadian and his culture is manifested. The older people often speak negatively and even bitterly about television, complaining how its sex and violence corrupts the young. The younger folk, more acculturated and assimilated, do not perceive television in such negative terms and attribute the older peoples' ideas to their superstitions, their ignorances, and their old-fashioned, out-of-date fears.

Though social contacts have been hurt in certain respects as noted above, a very worthwhile morning news and message program for the north, called Manitoba North, has helped social contacts. It has provided a way for people to send messages to each other even when as far apart as Winnipeg and Norway House or Thompson and Norway House. Birthday greetings, dedications, announcements, gossip, even practical jokes and other kinds of personal messages, are an important service this program provides.

And there is yet another way social interaction is facilitated by television. The programs serve as a reference point for conversation. They are one of the few facets of reserve life that are universally shared, like the weather and important political events. They provide a means for relating to a stranger. A way to flirt or chide or explain.

For example, when a light sexual comedy entitled "Who's Sleeping in Your Bed" was on the Late Movie one evening, some sixth grade girls flirted with their handsome teacher the next day by coyly asking "Who slept in your bed last night?" Children are always asking teachers about programs they saw on television, and if they saw such-and-such a scene, and what did they think of that.

Television characters have been used to provide a meaningful identity for people so that they can be better understood and their relationships to others more fully crystallized. Gilligan's Island characters were early favourites for this task. The author for example was known to some as the"professor". One funny teacher was called "Gilligan" and another was "The Skipper".

One Home Room class of relatively slow learners came to be called the "Sweat Hogs" after the Welcome Back Kotter television program. It gave them an identity and added confidence.

A large-sized person at the school was called "Big Bird" from Sesame Street, and one teacher with a beard was called "Oscar" from Oscar the Grouch on Sesame Street who had a similar beard.

2. Economic effects

On the economic side, there are more movie star magazines, television magazines, and fan and gossip magazines being bought at the Bay and being read at the Library. The librarian reported that since television, children have been much more interested in reading about such stars as Elvis and the Fonz and hockey stars. "Anything with hero figures and lots of pictures", he said.

The Bay did a big business in selling sweat shirts with television-related sayings. A very popular one read "Norway House, North of Gilligan's Island" which is a take-off from "Norway House, North of 55", an earlier and perennial T-shirt standby. Another popular one had "Kid Dyn-o-mite Rossville, Manitoba" printed across the chest. This referred to a favourite expression of the popular "J.J." character on the television program, Good Times.

Coincidentally, with possibly no relation to the fact that television exposed the Cree for the first time to public sex and nudity, a few years after the arrival of television, the Bay for the first time began to stock popular Nudie magazines like Playboy and Penthouse and also began selling tabloid sensationalistic newspapers like the National Enquirer.

Materials in homes are lately beginning to replicate the materials seen in homes on television. There seems to be a greater concern for cleanliness and for "pretty" furnishings. Air fresheners, rugs, linoleum on the floor, and curtains are now more frequently seen in the homes. Children too are now seen with more toys, especially bicycles, which, before television, were rather rare.

3. Educational effects

Teachers have been able to teach the meaning of certain English words much better with the help of television. An example is the word "collaborate". One teacher said that he taught his Fourth and Fifth Grade kids the meaning of this word by using examples from the television show "The Collaborators". He said he also used that show, which had medical laboratory scenes, to illustrate the meaning of the words "laboratory" and "scientist". Kindergarten teachers who were at Norway House before and after television say that children now come to school less shy and knowing a great deal more English than they ever did before. They know commercial jingles by heart at a very early age and, from Sesame Street, know the A.B.C.'s and how to count. A story is told about a boy at Cross Lake (a nearby Cree reserve) who never went to school and who surprised everybody by showing that he could read and write. It is explained that he learned solely from watching such educational television programs as Electric Company, Sesame Street, and Pencil Box.

Geography lessons are also improved by television reference. When Rhoda moved from Minneapolis to New York on the Mary Tyler Moore show and later in the Rhoda show, one teacher showed the children on a map where Minneapolis was and where New York was. Hawaii is another location children have come to know well. For Hawaii Five-O is a very popular show, and may provide children with their first concrete exposure to the concepts of mountains and oceans which most have never seen.

In fact, one teacher says that the general level of awareness of the outside world has risen dramatically. They know what all kinds of animals look like from Wild Kingdom and other animal shows. They know what a sea aquarium is from examples on Walt Disney shows. They know what elevators and escalators are like. They have seen examples of many-tiered indoor parking ramps from scenes of such on Cannon and, as a result, when a group of Kaddets visited Winnipeg a few years ago, they were readily able to negotiate a modern indoor parking ramp without any experience except through television. They are now aware of big city parades, having seen Santa Claus parades and the like on television, and they now have Big Mac Attacks without ever having seen a real Big Mac hamburger in their lives.

But not all the education provided by television is positive. When an R.C.M.P. officer visited a 7th and 8th Grade class to talk about police work, he had a difficult time convincing the students that he had never killed anybody and that policemen do not always have to fight and struggle to make an arrest.

4. Behavioural effects

A few examples of general behavioural effects will conclude this section. New games are appearing among children. Daredevil jumping of bikes off ramps were a great rage after the daring motorcycle exploits of Evil Kanevil were seen on television. After the Olympics were televised, pole vaulting and weight lifting were popular and were practiced with the usual resourcefulness of the Cree. One fellow made a weight-lifting apparatus from a tree limb and two wheel rims and another made a pole vault and bar out of trees and used a car seat as the landing platform.

Football began to appear for the first time as an organized game two years ago. The gymn teacher had tried to introduce the game before, but the kids merely took the strange oblong ball and took turns seeing how high they could kick it and who could catch it. After seeing football for several years on television though, the children began to follow some of the official rules, forming sides and trying to see which side could score a touchdown.

According to many, children's proneness to copy television has produced an increase in the level of violence in their behaviour. For example, after an episode of Happy Days was broadcast in which Fonzie's "All American" friends got into trouble with a leather jacket gang called the "Red Devils", gangs of kids appeared at school the next day calling themselves red devils, blue devils, green devils, etc. The fighting that took place under these banners disrupted school activities for several days.

Another disruptive incidence of copying came after a video tape of the movie, "Lord of the Flies" was shown in school. After seeing scenes of older boys scaring younger boys with "monsters", some 5th Grade boys dressed one of their number in a white sheet and hid him in a steam closet in a dark room and had some younger children come in and look in the closet. The author was at the school when this happened and can attest to the almost hysterical ghost scare that went through the lower grades and lasted for several days. Teachers still remembered the incident several years later.

Ever since David Carradine's popular Kung Fu television series appeared, fights among children have been karati- or Kung Fu-oriented and children are seen engaged in stick fighting or sword fighting. Some have even been found tied to trees and abandoned. It is reported that there have been five eyes lost in the last year from fighting among kids.

Children also copy favourite expressions and mannerisms of television heroes. "Sit on it", "O-O-O", "Dyn-o-mite", "Looking good" are a few of the expressions that are frequently heard. And Carol Burnett's mannerisms as a dumb blonde secretary with exaggerated derriere movements when sharpening pencils led to a whole classroom full of giggling little girls going to their pencil sharpener the next day and audaciously wiggling their behinds in rhythm with their pencil sharpening motions.

Certain elders in the community are very concerned that children are picking up sexual interests too early from television and exploring in this area at a time when they really have no knowledge or readiness. One man saw a kiss on television and commented, "That was once thought evil". He said he never saw anyone kissing until television and movies.

There is also a noticeable concern in some households over the number of nightmares that seem attributable to television, especially to Space 1999 and to horror movies. This concern is mainly over children's nightmares, but it happens to adults as well. An older man expressed alarm at a nightmare he believed was caused by viewing a documentary about a boy with no arms who did everything with his feet. He said he later dreamed about killing people.

SECTION V -- THE MEANING OF TELEVISION IN THE COMMUNITY

Theory of Diffusion

It is our contention that a key to understanding these impacts of television in Cree society is to be found in the anthropological concept of diffusion, in which is contained the principle that when a strange alien object enters a society, it is received with understandings that are in agreement with existing cultural traditions. As Hoebel (1958, p.602) has put it:

> "Every spreading trait ... as it moves from one society to another must face the test of its acceptability in the culture of the receiving people; and if it is accepted, it is invariably reworked either in form, use, meaning, or function. No people take an alien trait without altering it to some degree."

The funadamental insight contained in this dictum is the realization that objects, no matter how commonplace, do not have meanings intrinsically attached to them. A car, axe, mirror, wrist watch, tree, stone, or television, for example, do not have meanings given by the objects themselves and which are absolutely and inalienably associated with them but rather are given variable and fluid meanings by the cultural traditions in which they find themselves.

In our society, a wristwatch has a use in telling us how soon scheduled events will begin. In a society like the modern Yanamamo of Venezuela or the traditional North American Indian or African, the wrist-watch cannot have the meaning of telling how soon an event will occur because there is no concept of hours, minutes, or seconds by which events are timed. Rather, events are timed by patterning and by natural clocks like moon cycles, weather, sun, and animal and plant behaviour. The wrist-watch then, in these societies, would be received with the simple meaning of an ornamental, probably prestigious object, representative of the Western way of life. The meaning of the wrist watch, then, is relative to the culture in which it is found.

Some objects, of course, will have widely shared meanings due to having similar functions in almost every society. For example, a steel axe has a value as a chopping weapon in every society in which it is found but yet, even in this case, there can be a highly variable total meaning of the steel axe determined by varying conceptions of the meaning of steel itself. In a society for example where steel is a scarce and prestigious commodity, the steel axe will have a much greater prestigious value as a rare and highly efficient item than in a society such as ours. And whereas in our society no great status rank is conferred on the owner of a steel axe, in this other society an owner of a steel axe would be a powerful big man (Sharp, 1952).

Another example is the razor blade. It would be an effective cutting object in every society. But whereas in ours it has the use of shaving off whiskers, in a society like the Cree or Eskimo where whiskers were either left alone or pulled out by the roots, the razor blade had the meaning of an object which could be made into a highly effective arrow head.

So it is with television. In just about every society, television would have value as an object which provides a window on the world. But, in addition, highly variable values and meanings, perhaps derived from varying traditions of communication and storytelling and varying conceptions of Western Man and his technology, may overlay this universal baseline and create very divergent overall meanings for television.

Television in Cree society as contrasted with television in Euro-Canadian society, serves as an example. Among the Cree, where traditions about communication and Western Man vary considerably from those found in Euro-Canada, conceptions of television occur which contrast with those found in Euro-Canada. These uniquely Cree conceptions of television, we believe, play a major role in producing the kinds of television effects that are documented in Chapt. 10. The remainder of this section, therefore, describes this unique Cree conception of television, shows its derivation in traditional Cree perceptions of communication, storytelling, and Western Man, and contrasts it with the perception of television found among the highly acculturated, those in-between, and children.

The Conception of Television Among Traditionals

Traditionals, as we are using the term, are those people who maintain, at a high level, the same framework of thought, the same needs, values and ideologies, that existed for many generations among the ancestral population of the community. At Norway House, such people are fairly numerous and consist, by and large, of those who are of the senior generation and/or who have been born and raised in the bush rather than the reserve.

The conception of television among these people is heavily conditioned by their traditional understanding of how "live" long distance communication is accomplished, by their traditional concepts of Western Man and his technology, and by their traditional understanding of the nature of stories. The traditions of communication and Western Man cause the traditional to apply sorcery analogies to television and, as a result, to be very wary of television. The traditions of storytelling, in which stories are identified as parables and metaphors of larger truths, leads the traditional to approach television programs in a highly analytical manner, his attention sensitively directed toward receiving revelations from signs, omens and symbols which may be contained in television stories.

Operating from this framework, when the traditional sees "crazy" behaviour in children, - behaviour often closely copied from television, - his fears are confirmed and he complains about the harmful sorcery-like impacts of television. When, on the other hand, he perceives revelational symbolism in television programs, he interprets for the children, even as children's dreams are interpreted, and tries to prepare the community for the future.

1. The effect of traditional concepts of communication upon traditional perceptions of television

There are within traditional Cree conceptions of communication a series of devices which provide services practically identical to television. The best-known among these is the shaking tent. But there was also the mica mirror and dreaming.

These traditional communication devices worked with the aid of supernaturals. In the case of the shaking tent, long distance communication was accomplished through the medium of a shaman, who would call the souls of distant people into his tent to speak or be questioned, or could send his own soul travelling to see distant events, or could send a helper-supernatural, like a turtle spirit, to travel and bring back news.

The mica mirror brought information by means of divining. Water was washed over it and reflections provided insights into events occurring great distances away.

Dreaming also served on occasion as a source of news about distant events. It was believed that one could at times dream about what was happening elsewhere or about the future. It is to be noted that, among the Cree, the distinction between the future and things happening in geographically distant points such as in Winnipeg is not always clear. For in many cases the future for an isolated Cree reserve like Norway House is indeed what is happening in distant places like Winnipeg.

A most critical point to be noted about these traditional devices that acted like television is that they were capable of uses that television is not capable of, at least not according to Western perspectives on television. Thus, for example, in the case of the shaking tent, in addition to being a long distance communication device, it also could be used to steal the souls of people, especially children, and make them die or act crazy. It could be used to tell the future. It could provide access to supernatural hero-helper figures. And, unlike television, it could provide personally meaningful individualized communication services as, for example, allowing someone to speak to his brother living hundreds of miles away, or allowing someone to discover his own personal prospects for the future.

Personally meaningful insights into the future were also available through mica-divining and through dreaming, and in the latter case there was also the possibility of being put into contact with a guardian spirit.

Thus it can be seen that the traditional Cree conception of devices which provide the service of live long distance communication contain meanings which differ considerably from the meanings contained in the Western conception of such devices. Therefore, in accordance with our anthropological understanding of the nature of diffusion, when the object we call television entered Cree society and was seen to perform a function (that of providing long distance communication) which was similar to that provided by certain traditional devices, there was a natural tendency to expect, or beware of the possibility, that the new communication device was similar to the old ones in other respects as well. The traditionals (who were most aware of these traditional communication devices) were the ones who were most concerned about these other uses to which long distance communication devices may be put, and were the ones who, in fact, concluded that indeed such additional uses were in effect with television and were responsible for much of the behaviour, some good and much bad, which they noted accompanied the introduction of television. On the negative side, they concluded that television was being used to steal people's minds and make people crazy and depend ent (especially children). On the positive side, they concluded that television could be used to obtain personally meaningful messages, both about the future and about current events in other places.

2. Support for the negative view of television in traditional concepts of the camera

The traditional's negative conception of television as a soul-stealing, mind-stealing mechanism is strengthened by attitudes that have been traditionally attached to the forerunner of television .. the camera. As discussed earlier (pp. 57, 110) Algonkians had an early fear of the camera as a soul capturing device. In the current accûlturation context, however, the camera is not feared. In fact it is frequently used to record trips, births, marriages, hunts, friends, and funerals.

Photographs are kept in albums and may appear in collage form pasted on walls. It appears, at times, that they are arranged to complete events which were, in their actual occurrence, incomplete. This was observed in one home with reference to photographic scenes of a funeral. One of the in-laws was absent from the event, but a picture of him was included in the collage of photographs which preserved the event.

There is further evidence that traditional "imitative magic" meanings are still attached to the camera. One rather traditional man lost his wife. Photographs, as often occurs, were taken of the body in the casket. Later, however, this man became troubled by this and ordered that all photographs of the funeral be destroyed.

There is a feeling that the belongings of the dead (especially those who have died under unusual circumstances) can be the focus of trouble, even illness, for surviving relatives. Shamen may suggest that such belongings be destroyed if surviving relatives have any lingering illness. A photograph of the deceased could qualify as a "personal belonging" under these circumstances.

It seems that many traditional feelings lay just below the surface ready to spring forth when troubles are encountered. Those concerning the camera have probably added fuel to negative conceptions of television which have arisen in the community.

3. Support for the negative view of television in traditional concepts of Western Man

The "White Man" is a "wonderful person" traditionals are heard to exclaim. Their usage of "wonderful" here refers to the more archaic quality of the word as magical, or full of wonder. He is very clever. But he is also very dangerous. His magic is not in balance with Nature. He uses evil power - - a power based on the exploitation and domination of Nature rather than a balanced oneness with Nature. One Plains Cree traditional put it this way (Bloomfield, 1934, p.5):

> "... the Cree has never known and does not know an evil spirit ... but rather well may the Cree believe that the spirit looks with kindliest pity on him, since he has never killed by winds ... never... by the

> thunderers ... never ... by fire. Perhaps it is because he has angered the spirit by putting a stop to the sundance lodge, that in such numbers they break up the Canadians' towns ... every day we learn that ... houses have caught fire, every time we go to town ... every summer we hear that ... towns have been destroyed by wind storms ... only the white man was taught by the evil spirit how to acquire wealth ... that is why we are poor."

Another traditional, Norval Morrisseau, tells the tale of how Western Man chased thunder birds in planes, shot them down, and then boiled their heads, skimming off the fat and using it to produce electricity (Morrisseau, 1965, p.6). This, then, became the power supply for radio, telephone and television. Ultimately it is the same power supply that runs the shaking tent, for the Cree shaman is "licensed" to shake a tent by dream contact with the Thunder Bird (Carter, 1977, Hoffman 1891, p.157 , Jenness, 1935, p.66). This is legitimate usage of the Thunder Bird power. The Western Man's usage, however, is illegitimate for it is based upon force and exploitation.

A Christian influenced version of this traditional attitude about Western Man is contained in a recent Norway House narrative which connects Western Man to Satan:

> "We honoured those that brought us. We didn't have any nightmares. Satan is the king of this day. You are God's people. In the beginning, God made the earth and man and the way man should live. But the White Man changed man's laws and also made the earth different."

The traditionals explain that Western Man came to the Cree land and fought with the Cree both physically and magically. With his evil powers he defeated the Cree and stole the Cree's soul, power, and birthright. And then he dominated him through spirit possession. He sent the spirit of Christ and the spirits of alcohol to take over the Cree mind, and he continues this now with television. The following Cree narrative describes this situation:

> There was war against the Natives. When war was over there stood a woman and her child in a lonely home of teepee. Days passed and they lived all alone. Then the time came when she lost her child while doing her chores outdoors. Upon her return the child was gone. Days and nights of weeping ensued. There were no tracks or footprints. Kitchi Manitou (the Great Spirit) heard the cry of the lonely woman. He sent the fowl of the air, called Raven, with a piece of black cotton. "Why weep as thou?" asked Raven. She replied that she lost her child and can't find her baby. "See this cotton, I'll make of it a dress", said Raven, "wear this, it will never wear out, even though you go in thick bush". When the rag was finished, she put it on. "If you obey, you will find it, but if you don't believe, your child will be lost forever", she was told. "Pull one of the posts beside the doorway". She did this and there, under the posts, she found footprints. "Follow", said the Raven, "that's the answer. I will guide you wherever you go". The first day she found moss and little footsteps; the second day, a bow-and-arrow; the third day, a campfire. The fourth day, late in the evening, she heard two people chopping wood. She went closer and saw her child, full grown in four days. She came back full of joy and courage.

interpretation of the legend

The man who related this legend to the author provided both an oral and written interpretation. It was pointed out that the legend has deep significance and that it is symbolic and revelational. The woman in the legend symbolizes the Cree nation. The child symbolizes the birthright of the Cree, which has been stolen. There is war against the Cree. Their strong mind, their land, their language, their pride and secure identity have been taken. Then Raven comes to help the Cree. He is the symbol of the traditional supernatural helpers of the Cree - their guardian spirits. The guardian spirit was a man's secret agent - - a person who has gone and studied the things that need to be known and who makes that knowledge available to his client. The Raven says, "Why do you weep?" meaning why have you given up hope and courage. The Raven gives the woman a dress which will protect her from thick bush and will never wear out. The dress, which starts out small and gets larger, until it can be worn and utilized practically, symbolizes education. And education never wears out, it is always along to provide protection in even the most difficult circumstances. But she is told that she must obey and believe. This symbolizes the traditional's belief that education cannot work unless there is belief, obedience and fear. The traditionals believe that education is not working properly now. There is no belief, no fear. In the old days the children were afraid of the owl and spirits of the bush and could be controlled through these fears. Today the children sniff gas, steal, swear, and fight. They are not afraid of anything. There is nothing they believe in and fear, nothing to guide them.[*] The Raven says "If you don't believe, your child will be lost forever". He is saying that if the children and other Cree don't believe, the Cree will never gain back their birthright.

The post of the teepee, which is pulled up to reveal hidden footprints, represents the grasping of opportunity by one who has education, hope, and courage. The hidden footprints represent the secret things that the thief has done to steal the birthright. These include such things as broken treaties, alcohol, hydro projects which flood the land, welfare and now television. As the woman follows the footprints she begins to discover the hidden things that have been done to her (the Cree people) and, as she does so, her birthright begins to mature. On the first day, after following the trail of the one who has captured her child, she finds that it has left behind its moss - the traditional diaper of children. This indicates that her efforts have caused the birthright to mature to where it is now able to stand on its own two feet. Her discoveries progress on the second day. At the end of that day, she finds her lost child's bow and arrow, indicating that the new generation is now able to fight and to make further discoveries of the things that have been done to them - - the hidden treaties, broken promises hidden agreements, schemes and exploitations. On the third day the woman discovers her lost child's campfire. Now discovery has progressed to a point where the Cree can begin to make a home for themselves and are not afraid to live. On the fourth day the woman's birthright is restored. She has found her lost child and taken it back from the one who stole it. The Cree have now discovered all the hidden things, are restored to oneness with the land, and have attained their former joy and courage.

---

[*] It is interesting to note that our longitudinal psychological data supports this in its demonstration that there is a significant reduction in fear of danger since television entered the reserve.

the traditional purpose of legends and narratives

Cree legends were often allegorical and many were equivalent to our Western Bible stories. They symbolized situations that happened in the past, are happening now, and will happen in the future. They were revelational and taught how to cope with one's world. They were metaphorical stories which were usually not literally true but which were meant to point out a truth. They gently hinted about problems in the world and how to deal with them. A child was not told the symbolic relevance of a legend but was expected to learn for himself through experiencing it. When he saw an event that reminded him of the legend, he could then put the event into a wider context provided by the legend's symbolism and he could learn a lasting and valuable lesson.

With respect to the lost child legend, the child is told to beware of enemies and to bewared of hidden ways the enemy works. The child may later discover the truth of this for himself and then "will grow with the legend".

Legends were not only told orally, they were presented pictographically as well. In the case of the Lost Child legend, the man made a pictograph (See Fig.1) and hung it up at the local school where he worked. He also made a pictograph for the children of a dream (see Fig.2) which he believes foretold the coming of roads, cars, telephones and television, airplanes and evil Western Man. These inventions were symbolized in the dream and in the pictograph by a long straight trail with bugs going up and down in single file (roads and cars), trees with ropes strung between (telephone and television), a man flying in a bottle (airplanes), and snakes (evil in the form of alcohol and Western Man).

The traditionals thus do not feel that television is anything really new. They believe that they have always had the capacity to do the things television now does and, in fact, believe that the coming of television was known and predicted long ago. One prediction of television has already been presented in the dream shown pictographically in Fig.2. Another was described by a woman as a relative's dream in which people were seen silhouetted on the horizon in a circle of shining light cast by the rising sun.

These traditional narratives depict a very negative conception of Western Man and his technology and they explain why traditionals feel that the sorcery component of traditional communication devices is an operable analogy to be applied to television. For in his view Western Man is functionally equivalent to a sorcerer, and his television, with which he tries to steal people's minds and cause harm, is functionally equivalent to a sorcerer's shaking tent.

further narrative evidence for the sorcery analogy to television

Further evidence of the traditional's conception of television as an evil mind-stealing device is contained in the following story about a boy who hated to be without his television: "This boy loved television so much", it was explained, "that when he had to leave on a trip, he turned to his television and said 'Goodbye, God'". Another story tells how an older parent who remembered well his experiences in the bush when a young man, and who wanted to expose his own young son to the pleasures of bush life, took his son off one weekend for a camping trip, and that night when he and his son were bedding down, the boy exclaimed "I want to go home and watch Bugs Bunny". And one frequently hears the following lament against children: "When I ask them to do something, they always say 'Wait til the television show is over'".

A narrative about a Pentecostal man's initial reaction to television defines the traditional's resistance to television in a much more direct way. The story is told of how this man went to buy a television when they first had arrived in the North. When he took it home however and saw the sex and violence that was on it, he became so incensed that he took an axe and broke it into pieces.

When eight to twelve-year old Cree and Euro-Canadian children were asked to offer suggestions as to why a man might take an axe to a television and break it, there were some revealing, uniquely Cree responses. Most respondents referred to his dislike of sex, violence, bad programs or commercials. But several Cree said that he might have seen his runaway wife gossiping about him on it. One

Cree boy said that he might have thought the gods were doing it. Others said that he thought it was real. Several Cree said that he might have seen his spirit in the television. One-tenth of the Cree sample, but none of the Euro-Canadians, said that he was mad at someone on the television.

These unique Cree responses, which are based upon the belief that television can contain personalized meanings, perhaps demonstrate the influence of the traditional perception of communication as a personalized process whereby news, as for example news presented by means of the shaking tent, is directly relevant to the private lives of the individuals there on the scene. It is interesting to note that several years after hearing this story, the author asked a Cross Lake man if he had ever heard about it. He said he had. "But it's only a story" he said, "it never really happened". This indicates the nature of narratives. They don't have to be real truth, but only be symbolic of a truth. In this case the truth being pointed out was that certain people are highly resistant to television.

Fuelling the sorcery analogy to television is the traditional's understanding that children do not understand the fictional qualities of television - that they take it too literally. Traditionals make this point through the following narratives:

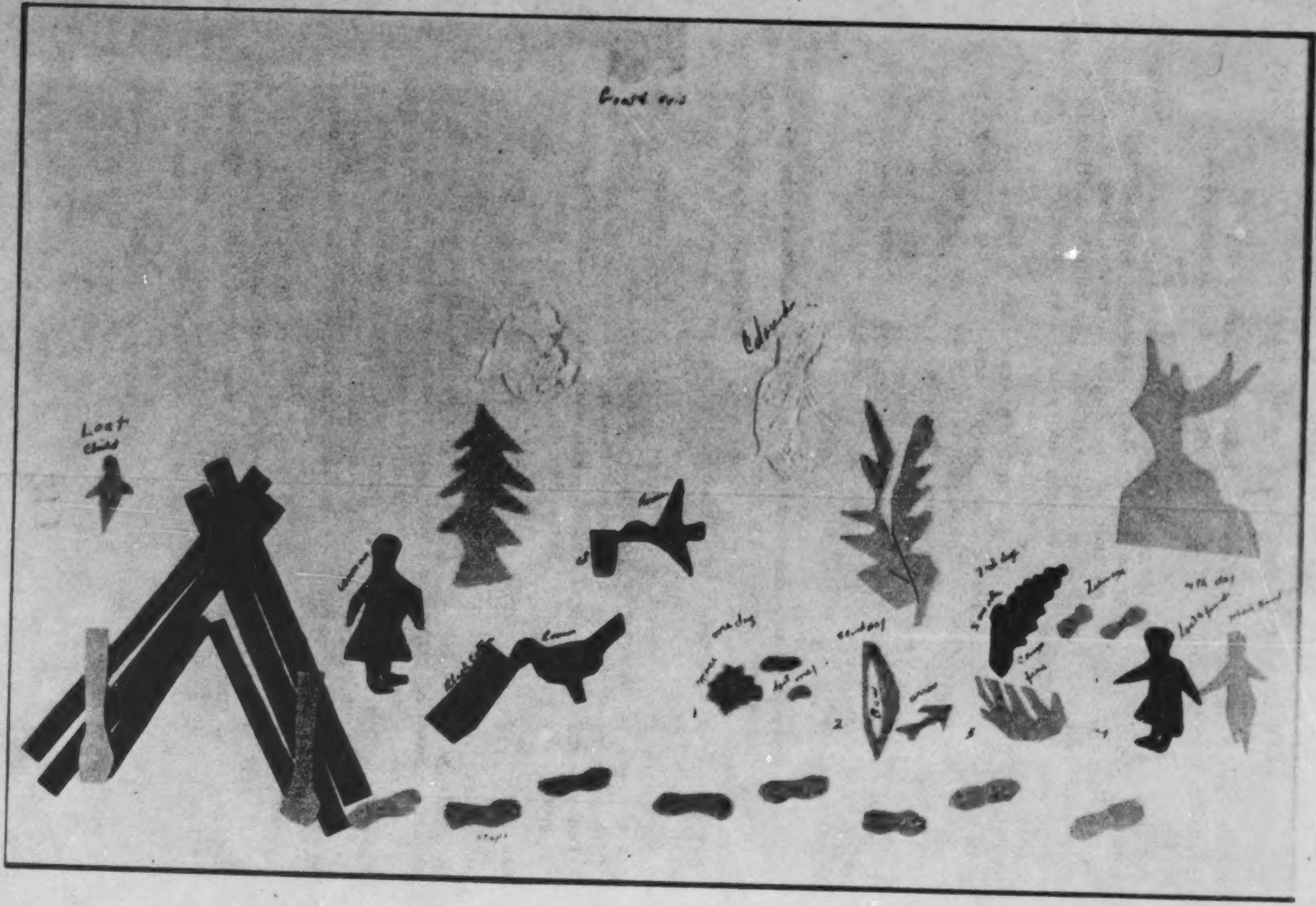
One man tells of how he had been to Winnipeg during a rain storm. Two inches had fallen but traffic was running smoothly. Then, when he returned to his reserve by air that evening and turned on the news, he said he saw pictures of cars stopped in flooded streets. "That's when I found out that television can lie", he explained.

The same man told about how children saw a cartoon which visually depicted the saying "it's raining cats and dogs" by showing cats and dogs falling from the sky. Afterwards they came to him and asked, "Where do cats and dogs come from?" He told them, "Don't let television fool you, it's only a story. They come from their mothers, not from the sky".

FIGURE 1

Pictograph of "Lost Child" Legend.

This pictograph depicts a revelational legend which gently and symbolically instructs children and adults about the nature of the Cree experience over many generations. It identifies the basic problem in Cree life (a lost birthright), the barriers to overcoming the problem (hidden exploitations, including television), and the means for overcoming the barriers (education, knowledge, and a readiness to grasp opportunity).


Lost Child
Edward
one day
1
2
3
4
2nd day
4th day
Camp fire
steps

(Legend for Figure 2)

This pictograph by a middle-aged Cree man depicts a vision quest and the mysteries thereby revealed. In the man's own words we learn about some of the pictograph's meanings:

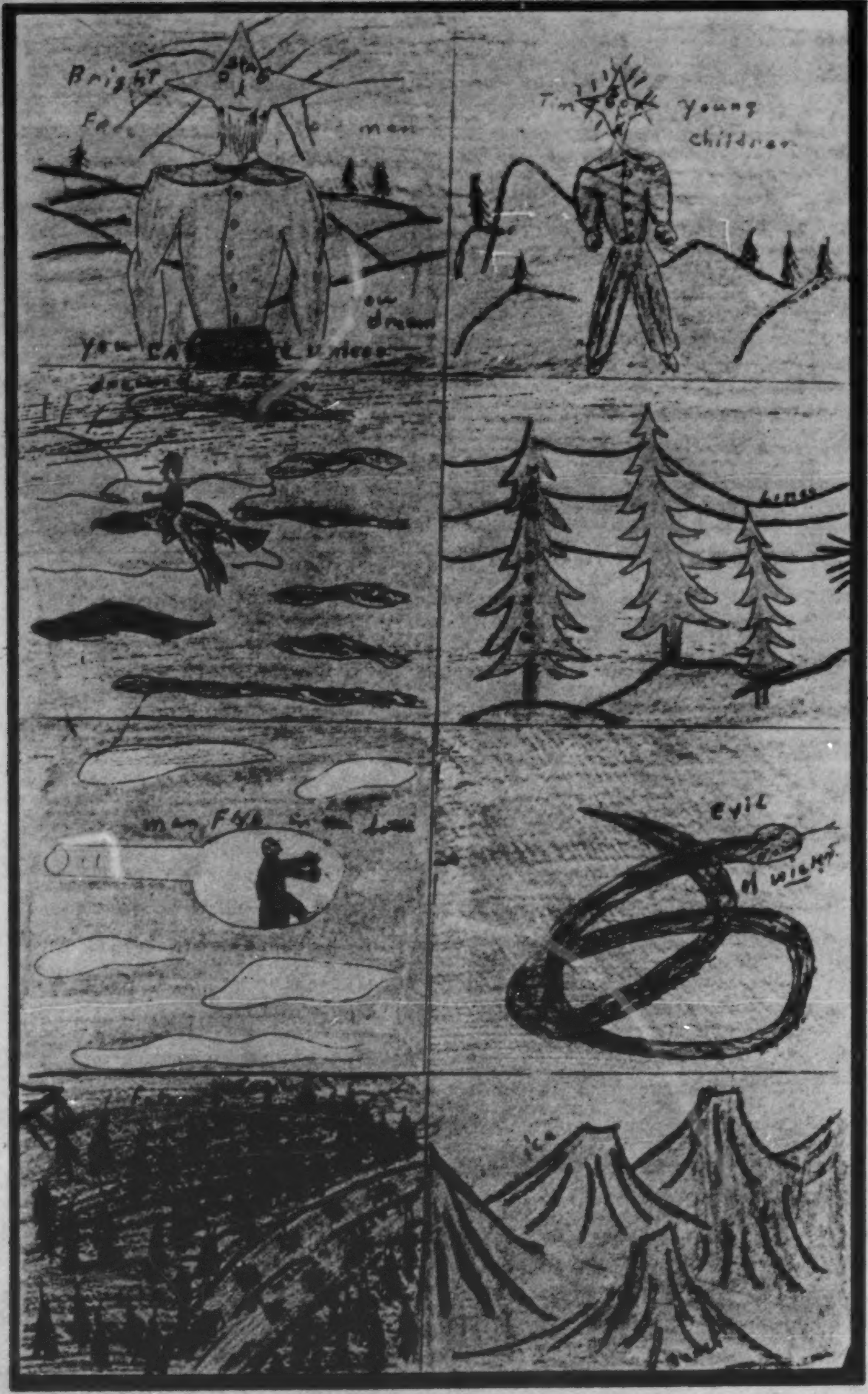
"After breakfast they question the person as to what he or she dreamed. He said he saw the earth edge with the oceans surrounded by ice which looked like tents. I counted every piece of it. The rabbit told me where there is dry land. The Jack fish said you will find me where there is moist land. These creatures told me they will keep an eye on me and that no one could harm me. They taught me how to make a living. Where I slept, an high thunder talked to me and gave me the feathers and the smoke was like the clouds.

Bright stars are the old men and dim stars are a young man. The rock door was open and there I saw people under the rock. They gave me all kinds of medicine. These people only went out to make a living before the church men came. The pine tree told me how to stop a child from crying. "Listen to me", said the pine tree, "when I whisper of the wind, then sing a song the way the wind sounds of whispering pine sweet and low west of the wind blow then he will be sound to sleep".

I understood that I was in the bottle flying through the air and laid down above the trees. As I surrounded the four corners of the earth, there was someone who spoke to me and showed and taught me what nature stands for, every tree and plant that grows is good for man. They can cure him when he is sick. When I covered all the land I wake up, there were all these people who had dreamed. They could speak to the people in many land and seas from the tee-pee. If they heard a whistle they knew this person was dead. If they hated someone they'd send weasel skin with head, teeth and claws. By doing this they did a lot of damage.

Then this story I told you about. The story of men before us. The White Man was not the first who came to teach ways of living. Then old men knew how and it was known by the great spirit. By their dreams everything was made known about what was going to happen in the future. There was a large island in the middle of the sea. Trees in the island were burnt out. These were the ships. The lines or the ropes were lined up through the trees and bugs were creeping along the paths - these were the cars, trucks, and busses.

The man shall ride on an eagle wing. Then Jashts (monsters, witigos), shall walk upon the land where you live. There will be tractors and things. And then there will be snakes and then the White Man shall settle in our land".


Bright
Star
Face
men
You can't
unless
dream
dreams
Tin Star
Young
children
Lines
man Flys
Evil
of night
ice

This man's summary of the history of diseases at Norway House and his prediction of the major disease for the future demonstrates his feelings about what will be the result of television and increasing acculturation. He says that in the 1950's the major disease was appendix, in the '60's it was gallstones, in the '70's it was sugar diabetes, and in the '80's he says it will be mental illness. He sums up his fears about evils of television in the following manner: "First he (Western Man) took away our hands" (with motors replacing the hand-rowing of boats), "then our feet", (with snow mobiles, cars and planes replacing walking), "and now our minds" (with television replacing the shąking tent which was based on the power of the shaman's mind).

Because of all of these parallels between television and traditional conjuring devices, particularly between television and the shaking tent, the traditionals use the same Cree word to refer to television as they use to refer to the shaking tent - - "Koosapachigan". It is to be noted that Norway House is not the only community that uses this Cree word to refer to television. It is also used at Oxford House, Jackhead, and even, according to Richard Preston in a personal communication, among the Rupert's House Cree in Quebec.

4. The effect of the traditional concept of stories upon traditional interpretations of television

In traditional Cree society, as in most non-literate societies, three factors operate to propel the story into prominence as a teaching, revelational and culture preserving mechanism. These are the fact that there are no books and no sophisticated means of preserving ideas on surfaces outside of people's minds; the fact that people require great freedom and flexibility to adjust to nature and, as a result, are careful to be non-interfering and non-authoritarian in their relationships; and the fact that there is a decided tendency to explain through the postulation of supernatural hidden forces and, as a result, to more generally view the world as built up from transformations and to contain numerous transformable objects, like witches, which cannot be understood unless the essence behind the surface is revealed.

When it comes to the educational needs of a society, we find that where these three factors are operable the story becomes an ideal educational device. It is short and entertaining and, as a result, easily remembered. And since, without books, memory aids are important, it can be of service if its characters and plots are shaped in such a way as to be symbols and metaphors for very deep, complex and intricate ideas. And this is readily accomplished in a society well conditioned to seek hidden meanings in objects and events and well-practiced in metaphorical imagery. Furthermore, as a metaphorical, revelational entity, it can teach indirectly and gently. There need be no authoritarian instruction. The legends can be told for their entertainment value and then more lasting lessons can be left for the child to discover by himself when he experiences events that remind him of the legend.

When these traditional conceptions of the story are applied to television which, indeed, is now the most important storyteller in Cree society, the traditional is conditioned to seek out important teachings and revelations in television programs.

As an example of this, one traditional Cree gave the following interpretation of the "teachings" contained in the Walton's television show:

> "It is just like here. The people live off the land, make things from the forest to trade, hunt, fish and garden, and haul firewood. And there is a road they're trying to put through and the people are trying to fight it, just like here. And there is someone writing a book about it".

As with dream interpretation, the content of the program was made personally relevant and probed for clues as to how to face the future. The man himself had been collecting ethnographic material on his own community and therefore saw the personal relevance of the television show. From his observations of television and his travels to the south he predicts that there will be tall buildings, police, lazy people, and even craziness in the future. "People will be walking around with no place to sleep or eat. There will be no friends to take you in. You will wander around with no job, no skill, and you will die".

The Conception of Television Among the Acculturated

There is an acculturated pro-West faction, which consists largely of youth, métis and the well-educated, who disagree with many aspects of the traditional view of the world. These people pride themselves on their knowledge of English and of the Western ways and they strive mightily to resist stereo-types of them as uneducated, superstitious, ignorant Indians. They consider it an affront if it is suggested that the basic framework of their thought is not the same as that of the Euro-Canadian. They therefore disagree with statements by the traditionals that television is just a stolen idea from the old Cree culture. They view it as something entirely different from the old beliefs about shaking tents, mica mirrors and dreams.

They react to suggestions that there are such similarities as if it is an accusation that they do not understand what television really is. They will be quick to point out that they are quite well aware that television does not work by spirits or by sorcery or by dreams, and that they know very well that the images in it are not real. They know how television shows are made and how camera tricks are accomplished, and how the whole thing is basically Hollywood sham and fiction. By and large, they do not see any insidious plot in television nor any threat to their children. They may even express satisfaction at the idea that television is causing kids to be more open and aggressive. They feel that the traditional person has been too shy and passive and afraid of people and that this has allowed the government to get away with too much. They are not afraid to speak up and say what they feel. They use television largely for entertainment and for something to do when bored and they also like to learn from it about how others live. They do not use the Cree word for shaking tent to refer to television, they just call it "TV", in fact they often use English rather than Cree in the home.

The Conception of Television Among Those in Between

The conceptions of the traditionals and the acculturated, as pictured above, are by-and-large extreme, pure models which in fact in every respect fit only a few real Cree. Most Cree are somewhere in between. They believe in some facets of the traditional culture and also in some aspects of the new acculturated view of things. They live simultaneously in both worlds.

They sometimes trust and sometimes distrust Western Man. They think television is a good and wonderful gift from Western Man and that it relieves boredom and provides fine educational opportunity.

But, at the same time, they realize that it causes problems in aggression, sex, and laziness in children. "You must not take television literally", they will say, "but if you think about it and understand its shortcomings, it's o.k.". Television is not a rape of the Cree mind but it may very well be a bit out of proper balance with nature. There is an uneasiness that the world maybe wasn't meant to be manipulated quite that way. They believe that, in the old days, some old Cree people had wondrous powers. But they don't believe anyone has such power any more. But they're not totally convinced of this. Maybe there are people in more isolated reserves who still have such power, or maybe a few old men in their own community. Their ambivalence here is marked by the fact that they worry about insulting old people lest they are caused to become ill or to have bad luck. They also pay close attention to dreams and feel they can contain important messages.

By and large, they do not articulate any conception of the relation of television to old ways of communicating but the old ideas are known and probably have unconscious effects on their opinions and usages. They perhaps produce a diffuse anxiety especially when mixed with half-formulated, not fully remembered, or fully conscious, ideas about souls, imitative magic, photography, mirrors, shaking tents and dreams.

They are not fully aware of the extent of fiction in television and tend to believe what they see rather uncritically. They often have trouble determining if a movie depicts real events which contain scenes of the actual original people who lived the events or if the events are fictional and made by actors who never really lived them.

The Conception of Television Among Children

Among Cree children, television is a vast new adventure which reveals the Western Man's world in an intimacy that they have never before seen. They are very curious about this world, envious of it, and anxious to fantasize about it and to copy it.

It appears to the author that the Cree child's proneness to copy television, to identify with its super heroes, and to largely fail in distinguishing its reality and fantasy, is not simply the result of geographic isolation, the inexperience and natural curiosity of childhood, or a typical child's need for identity. These are factors, but they are factors whose influence is exacerbated by an identity-weak reserve setting, by traditions which exalt identity change, and by concepts of shaking tents, dreams and imitative magic which expand television's role as an agent of identity change and reality.

1. Cree traditions which expand television's role as an agent of identity change

Traditionally, an individual was expected to change identity several times in his lifetime. Each identity change was correlated with a growth of power through contact with superhero figures and was accompanied by a name change. Children were coached to strive for powerful dreams and visions in which a Spirit Helper would give them a power and direction in life. This was the vision quest. It continues to exist today in the popularity of the Pentecostal movement with its emphasis on seeking personal contact with the Holy Ghost and in the way alcohol functions to change identity.

It may also continue to exist in the role given to television through analogies between it and dreaming and the shaking tent. For it was in dreams and in shaking tents that superhero figures traditionally appeared. And if television is described metaphorically as a dream or as a shaking tent, there may be an unconscious tendency for children to be a bit more receptive to it as a source of hero figures after which behaviour may be modelled.

2. The reserve setting's influence on children's use of television for modelling and identity

Adding to this traditionally-based tendency to search for superheroes who will be a guide in life is the deficit in self-esteem and confidence which is produced by the acculturation pressures of reserve life.

Low self-esteem and confidence among acculturated Cree children is documented by drawing analysis (Hamer, 1975, pp. 80-92) in which it is found that the acculturated Cree children drew smaller, less centered, and less detailed persons than more traditional Cree or Euro-Canadians. It is also observable in the tendency to tear up completed school work, to wear supermacho denim, silverstudded clothing, to be ashamed of one's Indianness or to flaunt it, and to be attracted to demeaning tattoos such as the currently popular "Born Loser".

These behaviours are understandable knowing the culture loss that has occurred in the acculturated Cree community. The difficulties of taking up the old ways of subsistence, coupled with the lack of adequate wage labour on the reserve, has resulted in mass unemployment, alcohol dependence, a relative absence of firm and attractive sex role models, and an often tense inter-generation relationship.

Thus there is a readiness within the Cree child to seek external non-reserve models to pattern his behaviour and to be especially receptive to power figures. Quite often it is Western Man who is seen as powerful and macho and who becomes an attractive role model as a way to override feelings of inadequacy. Movies and television were the main source for identifying with the macho Western Man model, but now with movies being shown less frequently due to the popularity of television, television models are paramount.

3. Proneness of Cree children to be deluded by television

During the course of field work, the author was asked several times by children if the bullets on television were real and if people were really killed. Of course some laughed at the idea but a significant number really wondered about it. Another interesting comment made by the children was with regard to the very popular Tarzan show. After it went off the air, several said that the reason was because he was killed while diving off a cliff. They said it was in the newspapers.

A young well-acculturated Cree man was discussing with his brother the possibility of his getting to go on a holiday to Hawaii. The brother commented, "Maybe you will go to the police station and see McGarret". The author suggested that McGarret was likely not a real policeman in Hawaii. This led to a heated discussion about whether or not he really was a detective as depicted on the television show Hawaii Five-O.

Another young man was watching Space 1999 and was of the opinion that the people on the show really travelled in rocket ships and really were living on other planets.

These comments led to the creation of a short questionnaire with the intent of testing the extent of the belief in the literal reality of certain aspects of television among the Cree as opposed to same-age Euro-Canadian children. Children between 8 and 12 were asked the following three questions about the literal truth of television programs:

1. Is McGarret of Hawaii Five-O really a detective in Hawaii?
2. Do the people of Space 1999 really travel around in rocket ships?
3. If you wanted to see Gilligan in person, would you go to Gilligan's Island or to a Hollywood studio?

It was found that Cree children took the television fantasy as literal truth 29% of the time, while the Euro-Canadian children did so only 5% of the time.

4. Traditional image theory and its possible influence on television as literal reality

It is of course true that the Cree child's difficulty in differentiating between fantasy and reality is due to his isolated experiences on the reserve, but it is felt that Cree traditions of image-making and imitative magic add to this tendency. Traditionally, images of objects were felt to house the spirit of the object portrayed. Shamen would make an image of an object for purposes of imitative magic. Even the spoken or written name of an object was felt to hold its spiritual essence (hence the refusal to utter the name of a deceased lest the ghost return). Photographs, as previously mentioned, were feared by many Cree as soul-capturing devices. And mirrors were felt to reflect images of souls.

Thus, images of things were felt to have an innate connection with the literal reality. And to the extent that this idea persists today, and it certainly is not totally lost (see pp. 110, 124-125) images on television are lent still further credence.

Figure 3 - Upper Left

A portion of the Norway House Community of Rossville (photo by Granzberg).

Figure 4 - Upper Right

A typical government-built home in the community of Rossville, Norway House. It contains no running water but is electrified. Note smoke house and older style home on right (photo by Granzberg).

Figure 5 - Lower Left

Old style log cabin home. Though there is no running water nor electricity in this home, people living in government-built homes sometimes long for the old-fashioned simplicity, efficiency, and freedom from debt this home represents (photo by Granzberg).

Figure 6 - Lower Right

The Rossville Inn and pub - a major centre of social activity (photo by Granzberg).

Figure 7 - Upper right

Young children of Norway House (photo by Florence Swinsky).

Figure 8 - Left

A Norway House hunter. Hunting is no longer a vital subsistence activity for most Cree, but it still provides identity, recreation, and a very welcome food supplement (photo by Tim Forrest).

Figure 9 - Lower right

York Boat Days. Norway House boat makers prepare a modern day York boat to race in the popular annual York Boat Days Festival which celebrates the days when Norway House boatmen were a vital link in the fur trade of Manitoba (photo by Florence Swinsky).

Legend for figure 10

(Cree watching Stanley Cup hockey)

Many Algonkian are avid hockey fans and look forward to hockey night on television. Another great favorite is wrestling. In fact, most physical sports (e.g., track and field) are well received. But they are bored with sports that they do not comprehend. An example of this would be golf.

Figure 11 (top)

Trapper's Cabin -- Trappers usually have several cabins similar to this one strung out along their traplines. They are warm in the winter and cool in the summer and, with yearly refurbishings of moss and sod on the roof, will be serviceable for a number of years and available to anyone who has need for their shelter.

Figure 12 (middle)

Skinning Muskrat -- Muskrat trapping is a spring activity and a source of money income for many Cree. "Rats", as they are called, are plentiful along the reed shores of lakes and rivers where they nest. Here the hide is being removed in one piece up over the head.

Figure 13 (bottom)

Muskrat Hides Drying -- After the hides are removed from the animals, they are scraped clean of excess flesh, stretched on a board and then hung up to dry over a slow smoky fire. They are then taken off the stretching frame and stored in a sack until sold to the trader.

SECTION VI -- LIKES AND DISLIKES

In a survey of Cree program preferences, we determined that adventure shows, news, and soaps were favorites. We also isolated a particular fascination for certain comedies like Charlie Chaplin and Gilligan's Island and a distaste for certain commercials and certain shows like the Muppets and evening talk shows. We will trace these likes and dislikes to meanings and usages that have developed around television, to Cree concepts of humor, and to certain traditional fears and taboos of Cree life.

Soap Operas

Edge of Night is probably the most popular show in the community we studied and there are wide ranging reports that it is similarly popular in other Native communities (Watson, Beal, Steinbring 1979, Katz). It is a show which at first glance would not seem to offer very much to the Cree since it is about nice, pretty, upper middle-class, Caucasian women having wonderful conversations in high English about getting part-time jobs as advertizing executives or discussing their lawyer-husband's clients. And the program has little action. It is ninety percent talk. And yet, there are significant aspects to this show which in fact relate to some of the most compelling and consuming interests that the Cree have in their lives.

They will tell you that life on the reserve is often boring and mundane. But the saving interests are found in the social arena and especially in the area of gossip. Who is having an affair, who is divorcing, who has a stock of alcohol, where are the parties, who is behind a certain misfortune, what violence has happened, who has been beaten up, who are the secret enemies and spies, what changes are coming, who has done something shameful or been disloyal? These interests of course are the "meat and potatoes" of Edge of Night and for the Cree as well. The Edge of Nighters are always "wheeling and dealing" in order to gain friends or identify enemies, gain power, gain advantages and avoid disadvantages and control gossip, and so are the Cree.

Because of these kinds of social patterns represented on Edge of Night, the Cree see themselves reflected in the program even more-so than might a typical middle-class urban Euro-Canadian who is not as much into the kind of close, ever-present and incalculably critical social relations as the Cree and the Edge of Night people.

The Cree, both men and women, get intimately involved with the characters and with trying to figure out who the evil figures are. They look forward to each new episode as a piece of candy waiting to brighten the next day, and they are satisfied to realize that they are not the only ones with misery; that Western Man, too, has problems similar to the Cree, like incest, trying to figure out who are your friends and who are your enemies, trying to deal with external power figures attempting to take over (like the Mafia), divorce, jealousy, and emotional control.

One Cree man's overview of Edge of Night and a few other programs goes as follows:

> "Now, Edge of Night is a program that everyone here watches. It's a program that comes in parts - oh, about four parts. And every week there's a part. It's a good one that has all these parts happening. Every two weeks there is another part. But people really like watching Edge of Night because of all its parts. When last week's is done, there is a next one". Interviewer - "I guess it's like it's real". "Oh, it's real. These things really happen. Like one part last year. A woman shot her husband. She married another man and he had another girlfriend. You can see those people. They talk to each other. And divorces. The women really like to see those emotions and those ideas, and listen to what they say. I'm in favour of that program. Archie Bunker...I'm not in favour of that. I don't understand it ...and Rhoda...Upstairs, Downstairs", (shrugs his shoulders and lifts his hands in dismay). "The people like the programs they understand. Gilligan's Island... the kids are in favour with Gilligan. And Dusty's Trail ...that one's not on any more of course, but it will be coming back. I liked Dusty's Trail... and the Walton Family...there's one I'm in favour with. It's about this family who lives on the land...in the country. The old man didn't want to change. He fights the change. But then he went into the city for the first time and he accepted it. They used to cut their own lumber and live off the land. Pretty soon there's this construction. They want to put a highway across this man's land. He fought it. Even with guns. But finally they did it. He had to learn. The past...the recent...and then what's going to

> happen. That's like some people here. There were some people here who didn't want any construction - not even a hospital. They had to learn".

This exemplifies the interepretation of television as fulfilling the traditional role of the storyteller who presents narratives with allegorical meanings.

A group of maids who work at the local pub and hotel take off every day faithfully at 2:30 to watch Edge of Night. Their involvement in the program is not untypical of other people at Norway House. One day's viewing went as follows, as taken verbatim from the ethnographer's field notes (I am grateful to Tim Forrest for these notes):

T. V. Action:... Villain creeps up to heroine of Edge of Night.
Ethnographer's Observation: ... Maids are jumping out of their chairs.
T. V. Action: ... Villain knocks on door.
Ethnographer's Observation: ... Maids are terrified and exclaim, "Don't open the door!"
T. V. Action:... Villain says "Let me in, Mrs. Drake".
Ethnographic Observation: ... Maids say, "Don't! Don't!"
T. V. Action: Mrs. Drake attempts to call the police. Operator puts her on 'Hold'.
Ethnographic Observation: Maids say "Oh, no!"
T. V. Action: ... Villain about to cut her telephone line, then the television goes on the blink.
Ethnographic Observation: ... One of the maids comments "He's cut the T.V.!" Maids laugh nervously. Television comes back on.
T. V. Action: ... The villain is removing the doorknob. The door is unlocked and a chair is propped against it. Mrs. Drake is crying.
Ethnographic Observation: ... Maids exclaim, "Oh, no!" He's got a screwdriver. Oh, my!"
T. V. Action: ... Mrs. Drake asks "What do you want?" Villain replies, "I only want to talk to you".
Ethnographic Observation: Maids say "Don't let him in!"
T. V. Action:... Switch to scene at police station. A lead has come in that the villain is at Mrs. Drake's. The police talk about whether they should go to Mrs. Drake's house to investigate.
Ethnographic Observation: ... Maids exclaim "Oh, hurry up! Why are you so stupid?"
T. V. Action: ... Switch to Drake's home. Final screw falls from doorknob, door crashes open.
Ethnographic Observation: ... Maids freak out, along with Mrs. Drake. Maids say "Oh!" "He's in!"
T. V. Action: ... Suddenly, sirens are heard, police are arriving.
Ethnographic Observation: ... Maids breathe sigh of relief.
T. V. Action:...Police arrive and villain now has Mrs. Drake hostage at gunpoint. Friday's segment of Edge of Night ends here.
Ethnographic Observation:...One of the maids says "Monday" - referring to the fact that they will have to wait til Monday now before they find out what will happen next.

An interview with the maids' employer reveals the following:

> Ethnographer to pub manager: "It seems that most days, some of your maids take time off work to catch Edge of Night". Manager: "Most days? Christ! Every day! There ain't nothin' anyone can do about it. Every day at two-thirty, they watch it". Ethnographer: "Do you dock them or anything?" Manager: "No, no. Nothing like that. They just take it. It's fine with me as long as they get their work done. And they get their work done, all right. Christ! They've got it down to a science. Everything's finished at two-thirty, then they drop everything."

Friendship, reciprocity and sharing are the keynotes of Cree life where people have for years had to rely upon each other to get along and only recently could find aid from outside one's close circle of friends and relatives through provisions of wage labor and government support. But for most, it is still the quality of your friends which goes furthest in shaping the tenor of one's life. That is how we can understand one young Cree man's response on having been physically confronted in a crowed area by a young man, a young non-Native man, who had a fierce reputation as a karate expert. Fearful of the non-Native man, he had been forced to back down from a fight. But he later accosted the non-Native man crying out, "You made me lose my friends". Such a loss, indeed, was a grave threat to the man's well-being.

Thus one works very hard to maintain face and friendships and this activity is a facet of the Edge of Night plot with which the Cree can readily identify. Furthermore, the Cree work very hard to discover their real friends and enemies. There is a general suspiciousness evident in the community and people go to great lengths to figure people out and to discover if they are friendly and can really be trusted. Situations may be concocted to put a person off guard so that he may reveal himself. Practical jokes are traditions in this framework as is the old idea of seeking to discover a person's dreams and thus his power. These are reasons why the game of trying to discover the secret hidden villains in Edge of Night is something with which a Cree can so readily identity.

Thus it seems that a major reason for Edge of Night's popularity among the Cree is due to the fact that it provides a window, previously unavailable, into the side of Western Man's life which most closely parallels the life of the Cree as it is lived in its most compelling and most motivating level. It shows Western Man playing at the social game of gossip and "wheeling and dealing" but unlike the normal daily game of gossip the Cree play, the program enables the viewer to be on top of it all - -to see all sides of the developing "wheel" and to be able to gauge the variables and make predictions about outcome. This exposure to the scandalous side of non-Native life allows some Cree people to recognize that there is not as much to envy as previously believed. This perhaps provides the sugar coating to the pleasures derived from watching Edge of Night and re-living, but from a safe and far-sighted vantage point, some of the most powerful and all-consuming emotions that are driving forces in Cree life.

Though the interplay of social forces in Edge of Night is something with which both Cree and Euros can identify, it should not be assumed that Cree interpret and evaluate the behaviour of Edge of Night characters in the same way as Euros. This was demonstrated by a video tape study developed by the author and administered by Christopher Hanks (Hanks,1979) to a Native Ojibwa group very similar to the Cree. The segment shown in both Ojibwa and Euro households contained a funeral scene and it was discovered that this scene aroused considerable negative reaction among the Ojibwa. Their understanding of how the dead person's shadow and soul are safeguarded against sorcery was not compatible with the pattern prescribed on television. Whereas Ojibwa and Cree carefully watch the body and safeguard it with a group wake, especially when the death is a violent one as it was in the scene observed, the woman on TV was by the casket all alone. To the Ojibwa, this was carelessness and lack of caution. The body "might get up", one person said, and others observed that it was dangerous to be alone with the body because of enemies. This reflects two fears of the Cree and Ojibwa that are absent among Euro-Canadians. 1. Someone, "an enemy, a sorcerer", might try to steal a part of the body (a finger, or hair) to control the ghost and create havoc. 2. The ghost is quite unsettled and potentially malevolent, especially if the death was violent, as in a murder, and special care has to be taken to settle and quiet it and put it to rest. Otherwise it "might get up". In contrast, when the rural Euro-Canadian group was shown the same Edge of Night segment, they found nothing objectionable.

Situation Comedies

Gilligan's Island was instantly the most popular situation comedy in the Cree community we studied. Children identified with the characters closely, and, for a time, many came to be addressed by the name of a Gilligan character, especially if they exhibited a characteristic remeniscent of the character.

The program was so popular, in fact, that T-shirts appeared at the Bay bearing the inscription "Norway House- - North of Gilligan's Island". This was a takeoff from an earlier popular T-shirt which had the inscription "Norway House- North of 55" - (55 being the 55th Parallel).

An explanation of the program's popularity requires a brief diversion into Cree folklore and humor. Metaphor is a fundamental focus of Cree thought and humor. It is their logic of explanation. Things are not as they appear on the surface. Everything is a transformation of spiritual essences. Animal spirits put on animal skins to appear to the hunter. Sorcerers change to snakes or frogs or bears to produce destruction. A youth becomes transformed through possession by a spirit that appears in a dream.

A normal looking man or woman may become a Witigo (powerful cannibal monster). A man or woman may be transformed into a drunk and not be responsible for his/her behaviour. The earth was once ruled by monsters and was transformed by trickster. He gave birds color, gave buzzards their bald smelly appearance, gave birch trees their black streaks, and created much that is now common in the world.

Trickster is the focus of Cree legend. He is the epitome of metaphor and transformation. He changes everything he comes in contact with and he himself changes appearance at will. Trickster tales demonstrate man's bumbling nature - - his inability and unwillingness to learn. They show how he must be tricked into doing what's right. Trickster not only tricks man into learning things, but he also plays the role of the buffoon, always getting into scrapes and, wherever he bumbles, causing great changes to occur.

To the Cree, the homour of Gilligan, in part, is his role as trickster. He is the buffoon, the bumbler, and the fool. Everywhere he goes he creates havoc and changes things. And just as trickster plied his tricks through transformation into deer or geese or any number of objects, Gilligan also often accomplishes his ends through disguise (e.g., dressed as a woman or gorilla). And yet, in the end, Gilligan always seems to teach people a lesson. He always seems to save the day. Gilligan's Island then may be continuing a well-known and very entertaining Cree tradition. It may be analogous to a series of trickster tales and that may be the secret of its success in Cree communities.

To an extent, all television situation comedies reflect trickster tales for almost all of them depend upon mistaken identity as the source of humour. This is a key ploy in Cree pranks. Cree want to find out about who people really are. They want to discover a person's "true colours". They want to know if you're really a friend or not. Appearances can be deceiving. They employ pranks and off-guard moments to achieve their ends (Preston).

They go to elaborate pains to achieve a situation where a person is caught off-guard. A pail of water may fall on him, a ruse may be established whereby a person is led to believe that a danger is present or that a desired object is at hand and then, after the person makes serious preparation to deal with the situation, the farce is revealed and it is shown that the situation was not what it appeared to be (a man may have been dressed as a moose or as a woman, etc.). Reactions are then monitored and recorded for what they reveal about the person.

Because Cree life is so predicated on emotional control, it is hilarious to see a person's guard let down. Humour always is seeing the other person deal with the dangers that everyone may at some time encounter.

Everyone has a secret personality that must be guarded. It is his hidden self - the real person behind the scenes. It often was solidified and controlled by giving it a name - a secret name that referred to the spiritual essence involved. If this name were revealed to another person, the power was lost or could be controlled by the other. Our Rumpelstiltskin tale shows a survival of this in our own culture. Many people have a taboo on using the real name of spirits - even of God (as in the Old Testament). Dead person's names should not be mentioned for fear the ghost would be called.

Pranks and off-guarded moments are hilarious to the Cree because they cut so close to their real concern - that of safeguarding their identity, and, therewith, their power, which everyone else is seeking to discover and control.

We were told, "If you know a person's name ahead of time, you don't have to be afraid", and we were told of how a person's dreams were guarded and, if revealed, led to that person's demise. Television is interpreted, in part, as a "name"-revealing device. It shows what's present in the city. It reveals the identity of that which is to come. Therefore the future is less frightening. Later, we will see the impact of this on children's victimization fears.

Adventure Shows

Another aspect of emotional control is control of aggression. This is another great fear. One must not show his anger. One must be able to have patience and bide one's time. Frustrations should be released at the right moment after planning and careful consideration. Seeing people display impulsive aggression is hilarious. Again because it is so contrary to Cree ways and such a dangerous thing to do.

One of the most popular shows when it ran, was a series of Charlie Chaplin movies. Cree loved the slapstick. Such unabashed aggression in a non-aggressive society is very funny.

Adventure shows in general, like detectives and Westerns, are very popular for similar reasons, There are aggressive needs in Cree society. There are desires to be macho and powerful. But there are powerful sanctions against such acts.

Seeing these behaviours on television then, is satisfying. One can identify with the characters and vicariously gain pleasure and at the same time know that it wasn't "yourself" who was involved.

Figure 14 (top)

Duck Hunting -- Spring duck hunting is usually very good in northern Manitoba. Trappers always keep a ready eye peeled for ducks as they check their traps along river shores. This mallard flew out of the reeds when the trapper's canoe approached and was shot down as he tried to make his escape. Ducks are either roasted or boiled and, in the latter case, produce a soup to accompany the meal.

Figure 15 (bottom)

Skinning Beaver -- Beaver fur is still in great demand at trading - posts and bring a good price (one beaver brings about the same as six or seven muskrats). Beaver are trapped usually right at their houses with snares placed in their tunnels and traps at their landing areas. This beaver, however, was shot in open water while it unexpectedly swam past a trapper who was hidden in the reeds duck hunting. It was with its mate (they were courting) at the time and they both were taken in one of those unpredictable turnarounds of luck. The trapper had previously spent a whole night camped out in a sleeping bag upon a nearby beaver house waiting for a beaver to show up and had come away empty handed.

Detective shows like Cannon, Police Story and Hawaii 5-0 are particularly popular because of the city dangers that are vicariously faced in such programs. A Cree's thrill at seeing scenes of car chases and pursuit on foot up and down steps and across rooftops and even sky scrapers are analogous to our thrill at watching jungle movies. To the Cree, especially the isolated ones, the cars of our city are analogous to lions in the jungle. They are very dangerous and unpredictable. Cree visiting the city for the first time may be seen standing on a corner for what seems to a Euro-Canadian as an interminable period of time. It is not that they don't know that a green light means "go" and a red means "stop". It is much more basic. It concerns the ability to gauge distance and speed and directions of cars. To one who has had no experience with cars, nor with such great speeds, and who finds it extremely difficult to judge how long it will take for a car to appear and knock one over, it may seem that cars appear out of nowhere. They cannot identify one at distances a Euro-Canadian can, just as a Euro-Canadian cannot identify a boat on a lake or a campfire at the same distance as a Cree can. A Cree new to the city often will wait until he sees no evidence of cars anywhere before he dares cross the street, and then he hurries across wondering if one will appear all of a sudden and crash into him.

Another riddle of the "city-jungle" is busses. Where do they come from? Where do they go? Where will you be taken if you get on one? No wonder Cree new to the city and even those who've been there for some time, take taxis everywhere.

News

News is very important in Cree society. In the past news was hard to get as there were no newspapers and radio was hard to tune in and hard to understand. The only real news came by the "Mocassin" (i.e., it came on foot from another person by gossip). But as one man put it, "The mocassin walked around bringing news but by the time it got to you, the mocassin was all worn out" - and so you got old gossip. But with television, the news is fresh and has pictures with it which make it easier to understand than the radio.

News is often a pseudonym for revelations about the future. Cree have a rather fatalistic conception of life's pathways. They tend to believe that the future is already pre-shaped in terms of events and objects and confrontations. But there is a free will aspect involved. A person can be forewarned about what is coming. A person can be prepared to sidestep evil and danger and to grasp opportunity.

Divination played a major role in forewarning the Cree about the future. Shaking tents, dreams, mica mirrors, scapulimancy all could reveal the future.

The future was often conceived in spacial terms. The future was referred to often as "something coming" - as if something travelling over a distance, already on its way, already present and visible in distant geographic regions. Of course the history of the Cree makes this conception totally relevant. For hundreds of years the Cree had his future shaped by visitations from the outside - by traders, trappers, missionaries, enemies. Eventually the White Man's cities became the focus of the Cree's future. What happened there, both politically and technically, shaped his life.

A Cree could literally see his future by visiting a city. He could see the future shape of housing, of roads, of protection services, of illness and care of the ill, schooling and transportation. It is no wonder, then, that when Native communities received television, they remarked on how it would help them know the future.

In a survey, we found that 77% of Cree mentioned News as one of the reasons why they watched television. In contrast, only 44% of the Euro-Canadian sample did so.

Talk Shows

One should not underestimate the extent to which language barriers exist in Native attempts to understand and profit from television programs. Almost all Algonkians speak at least some English, but only a very few really understand it the way a native English speaker does. And it's not merely a matter of learning the words. It's learning to use the words correctly. There are numerous examples of uses of English which, though not wrong, are slightly askew. And when slightly asked meanings are built one upon the other, overall meanings can be very much askew.

Further complicating the situation is the fact that our communication is based upon certain unanimously-agreed-upon assumptions about the world which we take for granted but which Native people do not. For example, we assume that time is lineal, that man is causal, and that abstraction and generalization is standard procedure for thought and planning. Algonkian thought on the other hand, except in cases of high acculturation, tends to be non-lineal, fatalistic rather than causal, and particularistic rather than abstract.

Thus Algonkians face a good deal of difficulty when trying to understand what an English speaker is trying to communicate. Hence, when a television show is based on talk and not much else, there is usually a considerable lack of communication and that is why highbrow language shows, like the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's 90 Minutes Live, and Canada After Dark, were not liked. In fact, among our researched communities, no program in television history was more abhorrent and repugnant than "90 Minutes Live", unless it would be its incredible (and almost identical) replacement, "Canada After Dark", starring Paul Soles. The people of one band persistently approached a field worker, asking him to "do something about that Peter Gzowski" (the host). Long distance telephone calls asking (even demanding) intercession in the abolition of the program were received at both the worker's home and office. Visits were made to the worker's office conveying the collective demands of several families. These actions must be viewed against the repressed and passive Algonkian psychology, the principle of non-interference, and the great mass of studies reflecting their inordinate restraint. It is of some value to reflect upon the deeper meanings of this.

The urbane pseudo-sophistication of these "talk shows" is, first of all, transparent to cultures whose close, small-group, family-based experience heightens social sophistication and interpersonal sensitivities. These cultures cut to the full reality of basic human and personal values in a continuously experienced (and used) complex of interrelationships. Urbane artificiality is instantly repugnant, and reflects a completely separate and external set of behavioural values formed within an entirely different cultural and social context. Probably all of the behaviour viewed in the "talk shows" would be seen as "insincere", mostly because it is intended to be "sincere" and not theatrical ("acting") as in the profoundly popular "Edge of Night".

A second reason for the Native rejection of this type of program is the harshly added fact that it is effectively forced upon them. Many had come to enjoy the late movies, and their replacement by an offensively ethnocentric program was a coercive violation of self-determination. The people of our study had no opportunity to express themselve on the matter of programming. This leads us to the important collective desire of Algonkians that they do eventually get some leverage in the selection of programs which may, more dramatically than in the city, alter their social, moral, and psychological lives. While they characteristically have difficulty in imposing restraints upon children, it may well be that some selective authority itself would ameliorate to a degree the most obviously destructive elements. Native programming would insure the strengthening of identity through Native language and news.

Muppets

In a survey of program preferences, the Muppets show was mentioned by about one-quarter of the Cree sample as a program they disliked. There were no Euro-Canadians who cited it as a disliked program. On the contrary, it appeared often as a particularly well-liked program. Ethnographic probing revealed two reasons for the Cree dislike of this program. The first concerns Cree concepts of shamanism and the nature of the shaman's relationship to certain animals (Granzberg, 1979). The second concerns the Cree's psychological propensity for particularistic-situational cognitions.

With reference to shamanism, it was discovered that two animals are particularly relevant to curing and sorcery. These are the frog and the bear. In the case of the frog, its various bumps and scales are thought to be associated with particular diseases which can be cured or produced by scraping and properly processing the particular scales and bumps involved. Furthermore, some Cree believe that to dream of a frog is a bad omen. It may entail blood sacrifice if the frog's enticement to power is accepted. Cree tell stories about frogs as power figures, and they are very wary of a live frog. Some positively won't go near one, fearing it as a potential sorcery messenger.

One Cree woman explicitly connected her objection to the Muppet to the nature of the host, a character called Kermit who is a puppet frog. "Frog is not the most beautiful host", she said, "the show is ridiculous". These fears of frogs may be particularly concentrated among Cree who lack power to counteract shamanistic acts and/or who are particularly imbued with traditional missionary approaches to shamanism in which the shaman's behaviour is interpreted as devil-inspired witchcraft entailing blood sacrifice and other evils. Perhaps negative reaction to Kermit because of his frog nature stems primarily from this source.

In the case of bears, it is believed that they are very human-like, very powerful spiritually, very dangerous and that they must be treated with great respect or bad luck may ensue. It is believed that powerful shamen transform themselves into bears and use that guise to gain revenge or produce other powerful effects. This is the well-known "bearwalking" (Salzer) which is widespread throughout North America.

This Cree understanding of bears may add to a negative reaction to the Muppets because one of the central Muppet characters is a puppet bear called Fozzie who, however, is portrayed as impotent and misfit and is made fun of. Perhaps this is an insulting portrayal to the Cree.

The second reason for the negative reaction to the Muppets concerns Cree particularism. Cree seek particularistic, concrete and practical references in television viewing. This is due to their psychological training to stress detail and memory (Hallowell 1955, Granzberg 1976) and also to the expectations produced by the traditions of communication previous to television in which news and information of a very detailed, serious and practical nature were given through often raucous, hilarious and metaphorical stories [as in trickster tales (Granzberg 1979)] or through television like conjuring seances performed by shamen in the shaking tent rite (Granzberg 1977).

Both of these factors are present in other non-Western communities. Tests generally demonstrate concrete situational thought patterns in the non-West (Munroe) and communication researchers in developing areas often report the influence of television expectations derived from communication traditions which emphasize that metaphors in songs, stories and dramas refer to practical news and advice (Ugboajah 1979).

Perhaps the presence of these factors explain why it is reported that a most frequent comment of non-Westerners watching television is that the television shows aren't real and lack relevance and immediacy. Katz (1977) traces this to a basic non-Western propensity not to alienate entertainment, education and information. Cassirer (1974,p.22) says of the Senegalese, "...entertainment for the sake of entertainment is rather resented."

We are thus led to the conclusion that psychological particularism and particularistic, practical traditions of communication lead the Cree (along with other non-Western people) to strive to relate their entertainment to reality (Granzberg 1979); and, when this is difficult or impossible, to resent the irrelevance and frivolous nature of what is seen. This is probably the situation with the the Muppets shows. It is seen by the Cree as too fantastic, too unreal and too irrelevant.* They say it is too unbelievable. One man said, "People might act to each other like puppets rather than real people".

---

* Similar negative reaction to unreality of Muppets noted among Alaskan Eskimo (Alaskan Telecomm. Office:125) and Plains Cree of Alberta (Cardinal).

In response to these findings, a video-tape experiment was devised which, it was hoped, would objectively verify the role of tradition in Cree interpretations of The Muppets (see chapter 12).

An episode of the Muppets show was videotaped and shown to households in a Northern Manitoba Cree community and in a rural Manitoba Euro-Canadian community. The program had been available for viewing in the Cree community for three years and in the Euro-community for about six years. After viewing, a questionnaire was administered in which subjects were asked to perform a variety of tasks including completing unfinished sentences and selecting from a list of adjectives those that they felt pertained to frogs, pigs, and bears, and Kermit (the Muppet frog), Fozzie (the Muppet bear), and Miss Piggy (the Muppet pig).

The results showed that the Cree carried over their traditions of shamanism and animals to puppet characters and that they did so more consistently than Euro-Canadians. The Cree chose powerful and dangerous adjectives to describe the bear and Fozzie and they chose tricky- bad-manipulable adjectives to describe frogs and Kermit. While 80% of the Cree (N=40) attributed the same adjectives to puppets as were chosen for real animals, only 60% of the Euro-Canadian subjects (N=40) did so ($t=1.7$, $p=.05$). This not only reflects the influence of Cree traditions about shamanism, but also their particularistic psychological emphasis. For their reluctance to separate entertainment from reality would cause them to be more consistent in applying their conceptions of real animals to the fantasy world.

Further evidence of the impact of their particularistic emphasis is contained in reactions to a sentence completion item which asks: "Puppets are alive because ...?" While 54% of the Cree denied this concept and replied that "they are not alive!" only 7% of the Euros did so, preferring instead to explain the behind-the-scenes manipulation that must have been used to make the puppets move and talk. This difference in response may partially be due to a difference in how the two cultures understand the meaning of the word "alive", but it probably is also due to the relative role of particularism in the two communities. Because of their great particular emphasis the Cree probably reacted more harshly to the fantastic, unbelievable nature of the show and were anxious to make note of their contempt for puppets acting as if they were "alive".

Other Shows

Documentaries about birth meet with considerable opposition. This is because of Cree taboos on a man being at his baby's birth. One young man commented that he was the first in his community to be at his baby's birth. He said his grandmother thought it was an exceedingly sinful act and has not really forgiven him. Since his bravery five or six others have done it, he says.

Feminine napkin commercials are opposed for similar reasons. There is a belief in Cree society that females are polluting during critical feminine times - like when giving birth or menstruating. No man should be around at these times. There was a time when women were isolated from the community in menstrual huts during that critical period. This is a practice which occurs intermittently in regions throughout the world.

Reactions to Space 1999 also can be traced to taboos and traditional fears. The most popular character of the show was a woman called Myla. The Cree children stated that they were intrigued with her because of the way she used her eyes to see the future and to see the shape of an animal into which she would transform herself. This use of the eyes and the vision for seeing the future and for transforming one's shape is highly traditional and familiar imagery. The evil eye is known and feared as well as the power of people who can transform themselves into animals. The traditional parents are not very pleased with this program because it is one that has been earmarked as a cause of nightmares. And the traditional interpret nightmares as having the capacity for real harm, perhaps by spirit possession or by causing disease.

Summary

To summarize, then, Cree traditions with respect to social wheeling and dealing, mistaken and secret identity, English language, particularism, control of aggression, knowing the future and avoiding taboo areas arouse interest in soaps and situation comedies, adventure, news shows and Native programs and produce distaste for birth documentaries, feminine napkin commercials, the Muppets show and talk shows.

SECTION VII -- SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our data suggest that, in Cree society, there is a differing impact of television than in Euro-Canadian society. Our data also suggest a strategy for analysis. Our research leads us to conclude that, in general, significant aspects of television's impact are determined by the uses to which it is put; that major facets of its use are shaped by the meanings attributed to it; and that critical dimensions of meaning are conditioned by the economic, social, cultural and psychological contexts in which is it found.

Applying this to our data, we can summarize our findings about the impact of televison in Cree society as follows:

1. Aspects of the Economic, Social, Cultural and Psychological Contexts of Television in Cree Society Which Condition the Meanings Cree Attribute to Television

Current Cree economy is transitional between a traditional hunting, gathering, fishing and fur trapping system and a modern wage labour system. Whatever direction the Cree turns, however, he is heavily dependent upon southern Euro-Canadian economy and faces massive difficulties which result in considerable unemployment and need for welfare supplements.

The social system develops out of primary face-to-face ties in which status and power are derived from the quality of one's friendships rather than from wealth. Friendships are dependent upon upholding strong values of generosity, sharing and reciprocity and they require continuing efforts to maintain face and to dispell potentially harmful gossip indicating disloyalty, criminality or lack of group solidarity.

Critical among the cultural traditions which impinge upon the meanings attributed to television are those concerned with communication, story-telling and conceptions of Western Man and his technology. The traditional Cree conception of long distance communication identifies it as a semi-private, personally relevant act, not a public, widely shared act, which is primarily oriented toward gathering information about the future and about the well-being of relatives and friends, and which is associated with dreaming, divining, conjuring and sorcerizing. It is always "live" and always "truthful". There is no sham or fakery.

The traditions of storytelling identify the story as an educational tool which teaches by metaphor, symbol and subtle, revelational parables. The traditional conception of well-known stories is not unlike our present-day conception of the Bible.

Traditional conceptions of Western Man identify him as untrustworthy, capricious and even evil though recognizing that he is a necessary and nurturant agency. His language is perceived as foreign, difficult and anxiety-provoking. His technology is viewed as wondrous and powerful but yet, somehow, not in step with nature and, in certain often hidden ways, even dangerous and corruptive of the proper direction.

Cree psychology is one of heavy dependence upon the Euro-Canadian government and other power agencies, considerable envy of the Western system and a desire to participate in it more fully and to understand it better and better prepare for changes it inevitably introduces. There is also considerable suspiciousness of the motives of Western agencies and even of one another. There is considerable fear of disloyalty, spying and subterfuge.

Some of the strongest motivations concern making friends, keeping friends, dispelling harmful gossip, and repelling enemies. One must know people. One must study them and find out who they really are. There are many hidden enemies. Things are not what they seem on the surface. The world is a metaphor. Truths are revealed by signs and omens. One must know how to read these things.

The general orientation is fatalistic, situational and non-lineal. One cannot so much shape the future as know it and prepare for it and sidestep its pitfalls while standing ready to grasp its opportunities. One remains ever resourceful and keenly observant. One learns by imitation and by memory of practical detail and not by abstraction and instruction.

2. The Meanings of Television which Shape Various Usages of Television and which are Conditioned by the Economic, Social, Cultural and Psychological Contexts Listed Above

Important aspects of televison's meaning in Cree society are conditioned by analogies drawn between it and traditional long distance communication by means of shaking tents, dreams, and divining. Because of these parallels and the parallel between television and storytelling, and because of the economic and psychological dependence of the Cree on Euro-Canadian society, television is primarily understood as an information agency which can provide personally meaningful, often subtly symbolic messages and news about the future, about dangers and about the unknown. It is also a window on the Western world and on the behaviour of people in that world. It is a place where one can learn how to act and where attractive models of behaviour are available for imitation.

But because of the traditional negative conception of Western Man and his technology television is also understood as a corrupting influence in Cree society. It is the latest in a long list of ways Western Man has found to exploit the Cree and steal his birthright.

For the Cree, the negative side of television is greater than among Euro-Canadians where there are also negative opinions but ones which are not fuelled by a tradition of bad relationships with Western Man and his technology. In addition, the meaning of television as an information providing, behaviour modelling agency is also greater among Cree than among Euro-Canadians who, unlike the Cree, already have much access to information about Western society and who find appropriate behaviour models all around them and are not oriented outward to a different culture and a different way of life as a source of identity.

3. Uses of Television which Determine Significant Aspects of its Impact and which Are Shaped by the Above Meanings:

Television's meaning as a revelational device, a device to learn about the future and to gain information about the outside world, causes Cree to use television to prepare for the future.

They do this by viewing television programs which show life in the city and which reveal what is coming to the reserve from the Western world. It is understood that television reveals important things about how the reserve will look in the future and about how people will act.

Many Cree use this information critically and wisely but some, especially children, use information from television about how Western people act rather uncritically as examples of the right way to act - - the right way to talk, dress, and behave.

Television's meaning as Western Man's technology enables some Cree to use it as a demonstration of the negative, corrupting influence of Western Man. They blame television for the "craziness" of children and they say that television's influence once again demonstrates that one must be very careful of Western Man and beware of his hidden motives.

4. Impacts of Television Determined by the Above Uses to Which It Is Put

Television's use as a window on the West and as a model for behaviour has changed many things about Cree life. In terms of material changes it has caused the homes to more closely resemble Western homes. Cree homes now are better furnished, "prettier" by Western standards, and supplied with more household aids like dishes, silverware, disinfectants, blenders, and all manner of luxuries seen in commercials and in television programs. Cree children are better supplied with toys, especially bicycles.

In terms of behavioural changes it has caused some children to act more aggressively and to copy the dress, manners and speech of television hero figures. This use of televison as a behavioural model has also caused children to fantasize more with the West, to know more about the West, and to be less afraid (see psychological study, chapter 10).

Television's use in demonstrating the corrupting influence of Western Man has produced a crystallization of inter-generation and pro-West and anti-West conflict. With some children and some adults uncritically using television to model Western behaviour and with other children and other adults using it to demonstrate the evil of Western Man, conflicts of opinion about the West are more frequent and more serious.

What Conclusions Can Be Drawn from this Material? What Recommendations Might We Make to Agencies Responsible for Regulating Television? We Have Three Suggestions:

1. Know the television audience

Audience understanding should be considered one of the most important ingredients in the process which produces enlightened and carefully-reasoned decisions about how to regulate and best utilize the vast resource of television.

Through the presentation of a rather extreme example, our research shows that television is perceived and reacted-to differently by peoples of differing linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Perhaps there are some overriding universal impacts of television that are independent of the nature of the audience, but these have yet to be adequately demonstrated. Even television's influence on aggression can be seen to have a differing outcome and differing evaluation when dealing with Cree culture and with the difference between traditional and acculturated Cree (see psychological study, chapter 10).

Television is different things to different people. Its social, educational, and behavioural impacts will differ according to the audience. And this need not be limited to ethnic differences in audiences, for psychologists are now becoming more and more aware of how individual psychological differences affect the impact of television (Bandura).

Realizing the vast implications of television in its various audiences, we should now be better able to make informed decisions about television in Canadian society.

2. Provide prior information to communities about potential effects of television and allow them some choice in the adoption of television

Reserves now have a choice in how they wish to regulate alcohol, government subsidy, education, and a number of other Western resources. They should also have some role in the regulation of television in their communities. There is precedent for this. Some Eskimo communities were given a choice in the adoption of television and at least one rejected television. Some have had their own television stations. The people of northern Manitoba have expressed disappointment in not having been given some decision making responsibility in this area.

3. Provide locally meaningful programming

Our survey of opinion shows that the Cree people have an overwhelming desire to have locally meaningful programming. This would mean programming in the Native language and programming which is sensitive to the values and beliefs of the people.

The first Native programs to be attempted should be news and information shows in local languages with subjects of local interest and delivered in local idiom and employing storytelling and other characteristics of traditional communication.

The second type of program to be initially undertaken could be Native soap operas but with one difference. These would be soap operas which have a major goal of education as well as entertainment. The world experience has been that soaps are almost universally the most popular form of television. They have been already used effectively in many areas in localized ways. They should now be developed for Native Canada and should employ Native actors and be both in English and Native tongues. They should concentrate upon current problems of Native life and show how these problems can be effectively confronted. They should show the difficulty to be encountered in the city and the reserve and should show people working through them -- some succeeding and some failing. The reasons for the various outcomes should be made clear. But not, of course, in lecture form. All the variables involved should be revealed through dramatic stories.

Native writers are, of course, required and a doubling of effort in this area is needed. As well, non-Native writers can also be effectively employed. There are many who are intimately familiar with Native life and who understand many of the variables. A team effort in writing would, perhaps, be best.

Finally it would be remiss not to state that the most frequent request is for more channels which would provide more choices and less repeats.

4. Utilize local "tele-clubs"

In all programming decisions for Native communities, the policy of integrity of choice is paramount. Local community participation in decision making must be present. The world experience shows that this can best be done by usage of television groups who discuss programs and who make suggestions. The world experience also shows that such groups quickly become ineffective and become alienated if they are not truly incorporated within the decision making machinery. They have to see the effects of their suggestions and know they are having influence.

References

Alaskan Telecommunications Office
1975
ATS-6 Health-Education Telecommunications Experiment, Vol. 1. Office of Governor: State of Alaska.

Bandura, Albert
1978
"Social Learning Theory of Aggrssion" *Journal of Communications*, Vol. 28 No. 3:12-29

Beal, J.C. et.al.
1976
The Application of Dynamic Modelling to the Study of Telecommunications Development in Canada. Final Report. Kingston, Queens Univ. Press.

Bloomfield, Leonard
1934
Plains Cree Texts, New York, Stechert and Co.

Burton, Roger and
Whiting, John W.M.
1961
The Absent Father and Cross-Sex Identity. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 7: 85-95.

Cardinal, Gil
1980
Personal Communication.

Carpenter, Edmund
1972
"Tribal Terror and Self-Awareness" in *Principles of Visual Anthropology*, Paul Hockings, Ed. (Paris: Mouton. pp. 451-461)

Carter, R. T.
1977
Comments reported in the Winnipeg Free Press, January 21, 1977, p. 25

Cassirer, Henry
1974
Mass Media in an African Context: An Evaluation of Senegal's Pilot Project. Paris: UNESCO.

Dailey, R. C.
1972
"The Role of Alcohol among North American Indian Tribes as Reported in Jesuit Relations". In *Perspectives on North American Indians*. Mark Nagler, ed. pp. 190-202. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart.

D'Andrade, Roy G.
1962
Paternal Absence and Cross-Sex Identification. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge, Harvard University.

Densmore, Frances
1929
Chippewa Customs. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bul.86

Granzberg, Gary
1976 "A Comparison of Children's Values: Traditional Cree, Acculturated Cree, Euro-Canadian". In *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian* Conference. William Cowan, ed. pp. 312-322. Ottawa: Carleton University.

1979 "The Introduction of Television into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community: Some Reflections Upon its Meanings, its uses, and its Effects". In *The Impact and Meaning of Television among Native Communities in Northern Manitoba*. J.H. Steinbring, Gary Granaberg, et al., eds., pp.3-55. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.

Granzberg, Gary, J. Hamer and J.H. Steinbring
1977 "New Magic for Old: Television in Cree Culture" in Journal of Communications, vol. 27:4.

Hamer, John, John H. Steinbring, Gary Granzberg, et al.
1975 Second Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North. A report to the Department of Communications of Canada, Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.

Hanks, Christopher
1979 "Edge of Night in Native and Non-Native Societies"; A Pilot Study of the Use of Video-Tape to Elicit Cross-Cultural Data on the Perception and Meaning of Television Programs" in *The Impact and Meaning of Television Programs*" by Steinbring et al.

Hallowell, I. A.
1942 *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1955 *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Harrington, Charles
1970 *Errors in Sex-Role Behavior in Teen-Age Boys*. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Hoebel, E. Adamson
1958 *Man in the Primitive World*, New York: McGraw Hill

Hoffman, W. J. 1891	"The Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa". Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.
Jenness, Diamond 1935	*The Ojibwa Indians of Patty Island, Their Social and Religious Life.* National Museum of Canada, Bul. 78, Anthropological Series 17. Ottawa.
Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey. 1951	*The Mark of Oppression*. New York: Norton.
Katz, Elihu 1977	"Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?". Journal of Communications 27(2): 113-121.
Knickerbocker, Brad 1977	Comments reported in the Winnipeg Free Press, March 7, 1977, p.15.
Lewis, Oscar 1961	*The Children of Sanchez*. New York: Random House.
Morrisseau, Norval 1965	*Legends of My People - The Great Ojibwa*. Selwyn Dwedney, Ed. Toronto: Ryerson Press
Munroe, Robert and Ruth 1975	*Cross-Cultural Human Development*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole.
Preston, Richard J. 1975	*Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meaning of Events*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.
Salzer, Robert J. 1972	"Bear-Walking: A Shamanistic Phenomenon Among the Potawatomi Indians in Wisconsin". Wisconsin Archaeologist 53(3): 110-146.
Sharp, Lauriston 1952	"Steel Axes for Stone Age Man", in Spicer (Ed.) *Human Problems in Technical Change*, Russel Sage
Speck, F.G. 1935	*Naskopi*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.
Steinbring, Jack 1977	Personal Communication
1979	"Television and the Jackhead Indians: Identity Stress on the Cultural Boundary" in *The Impact and Meaning of Television* by Steinbring et al. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.

Ugboajah, **Frank** Okwu
1979
"Developing Indigenous Communication in Nigeria". Journal of Communication 29 (4): 40-45.

Watson, Linvill
1977
Television Among Inuit of Keewatin: The Rankin Inlet Experience, Institute for Northern Studies Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, pp. 65, 92, 98.

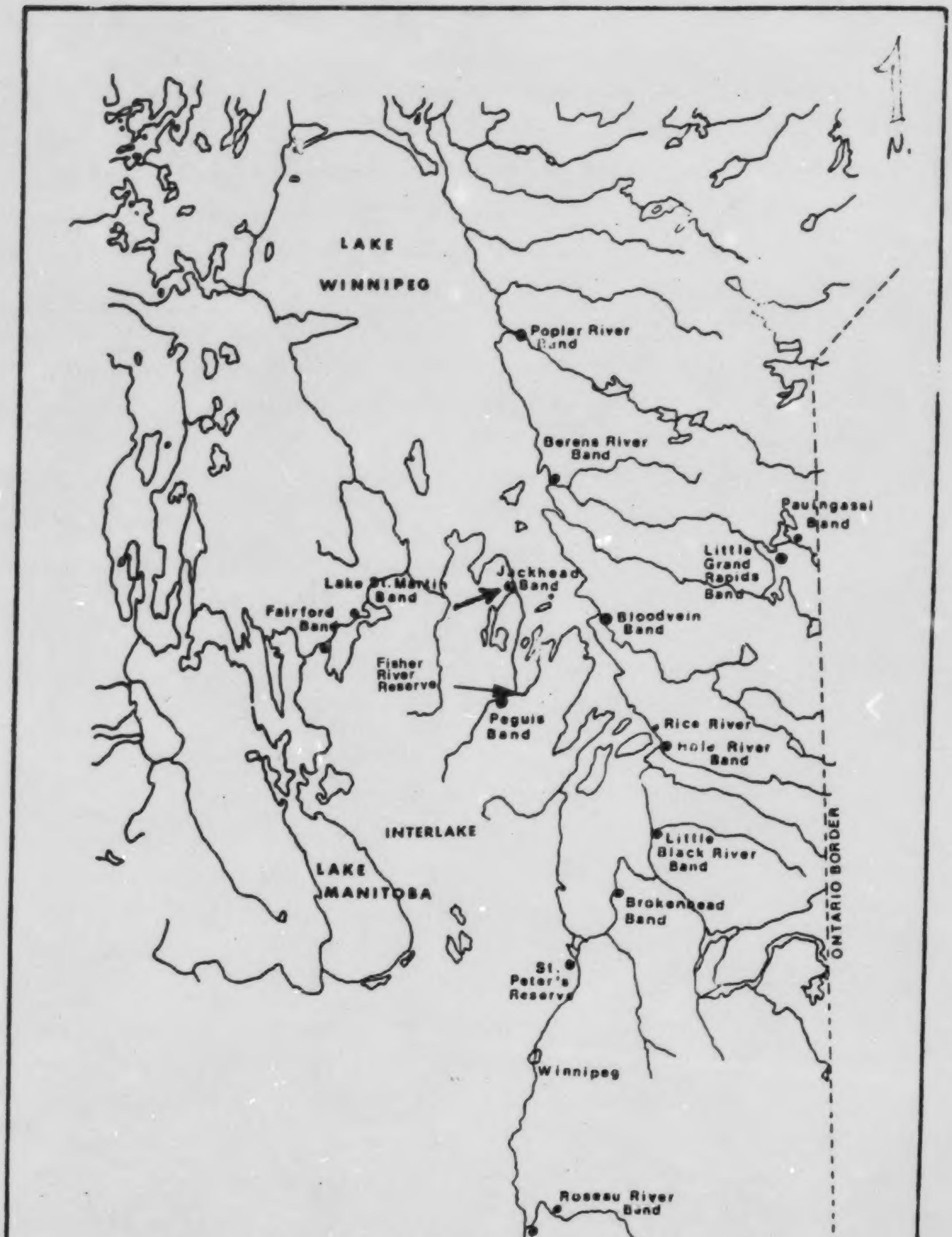
Worth, Sol and John Adair
1970
"Navajo Filmmakers". American Anthropologist (I): 9-34.

CHAPTER 7

TELEVISION ON THE
JACKHEAD INDIAN RESERVE
1969 - 1980

by

Jack Steinbring



Lake Winnipeg Region

The Jackhead Band

The Jackhead Reserve is one of several Ojibwa communities located on the western shores of Lake Winnipeg, in the central Canadian province of Manitoba. While these reserves profit from the fact that they may exploit the abundant fish populations of this, the world's 12th largest inland lake, the remainder of their environment offers little. It is low, poorly drained, thin-soiled, glacially scoured and gravelled, and is forested by a mixture of aspen and conifers which repeated fires have reduced to only marginal value. Those related communities like Fairford and Pequis (Map 1) which occupy interior positions on rivers emptying into Lake Winnipeg, have been favoured by lands suited to some kinds of farming. Even within the generally unproductive Interlake, the Jackhead Reserve area is a model of uselessness.

The region is fundamentally non-agricultural. The vegetation and fauna are continuous from the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg where, however, the topography is dominated by the Canadian Shield. It is from this region of granite outcroppings, spruce forest, lakes and rivers that the Jackhead people originally migrated. Their earliest theorized ancestors adapted to this highly uniform environment through a cultural tradition known as the "Shield Archaic" (Wright, 1972). Forest exploitation, extensive mobility by watercraft, a basic hunting-foraging-fishing economy, and family level social organization characterized this culture. The Shield Archaic is thought to have achieved its essential qualities by 5,000 B.C. and the living Cree and Ojibwa of Canada constitute its present descendants (Jennings 1974: 130). With the exception of a few sociological elaborations, the essential characteristics remained unaltered until well into the Historic Period. This is important for two reasons: first, these Algonkian-speaking hunters of the Sub-Arctic have exhibited an astonishingly conservative cultural history, and, second, they collectively represent the largest Native population in North America. Among them, the Ojibwa is the largest, and it is second only to the far more concentrated Navajo of the American Southwest. This social and psychological unity, as expressed among one of the most diffusely distributed cultures of North America, may consititute the supreme example of such a combination in the world. Very little has been done to establish the reasons for it.

The people of Jackhead refer to themselves mainly as "Saulteaux", with a few of the in-marrying women identifying themselves as Cree. In using the term Saulteaux, they are adhering to a tradition of usage commenced by the French in the late 17th Century at Sault Ste Marie in Ontario. Here Algonkian-speaking bands congregating at the great rapids in summer and participating rather actively in trade came to receive the collective designation, "Saulteurs". The "Saulteurs" gathered there annually to fish, trade, and socialize. Game depletion, pressures of the Fur Trade, and eastern wars prompted an essentially western migration during the 18th and 19th centuries. Some of the best documentation on these Ojibwa migrations has been assembled by A.I. Hallowell through geneaologies collected along the Berens River in the 1930's and 1940's (Hallowell 1967:112). Many, or most of these were, and remain, what the anthropologist calls Northern Ojibwa (Hallowell 1967:112, Dunning 1959: 8, Rogers 1960). More recently, a variation of this general grouping has been designated "The Lake Winnipeg Ojibwa" (Steinbring 1971:179). The Jackhead Saulteaux have been included in this latter group. They belong to a large number of Ojibwa bands which became fixed upon Lake Winnipeg shoreline locations during a massive, late 18th century movement to the West from deep interior positions east of Lake Winnipeg. All of the main rivers, and especially the Winnipeg, were the scene of these movements which led ultimately to both prairie and Shield areas as far west as Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The "Jackheaders", as they sometimes call themselves, are derived from the northerly elements of 18th Century migrations, stemming directly from movements along the Bloodvein and Wanipigow Rivers. The earliest written documentation for the location of the Jackhead Band is a sketch map by Peter Fidler dated 1820 (B.51/3/1 H.B.C.A.). In these early migrations, a few families appear to have continued on across Lake

Winnipeg, probably via Commissioner Island and perhaps at the "Upper"* Narrows. There has long been an extremely close relationship, through marriages, between Berens River and Jackhead. Reciprocal kin obligations in this pattern persist to the present day, and while the kin terminology reflects such ancient themes as cross-cousin marriage, the practises are giving way to unstructured Western modes. Of course, it is of interest to determine whether accelerated mass communications have a role in such changes. The closest linguistic ties are with the Berens River, which fact places most of Native Jackhead speech outside the Severn dialect (Wolfart, 1973:1318). The community (or aggregate) of Jackhead was formed prior to the Treaty of 1872, largely by the west-moving elements of "Woodland" Ojibwa, and by northern families who had not been incorporated into the Treaty of 1871. Local tradition is very strong on the point that there were people belonging to an entirely different culture situated in the Jackhead area prior to the arrival of the Saulteaux. Descriptions are quite vague, but they are not thought to have been Siouxan speakers. They were not hostile (as would be expected for Sioux), and were, in fact, rather strangely elusive -- always keeping at a distance from the Saulteaux camps, watching the ceremonies at times, and even playing their drums while Saulteaux ceremonies were in progress. They did not, however, make any direct contacts with the Saulteaux. Some earthen features resembling "vision pits" (Noble 1968) are attributed to these "strangers".

The traditional economy of the Jackhead Band was the classical hunting and foraging pattern of Northern and Central Algonkians, with the addition of trapping. Assuming that entry and established settlement at Jackhead occurred in the early 1800's, it seems likely that trapping may not then have been of profound importance. A great decline in fur trapping was taking place at that time, and the premeditated occupation of a shoreline location (on the 12th largest lake in the world) suggests that fishing was even then an important pursuit. Today commercial fishing is the main economic activity of the band, and its success as a socially binding and financially valued enterprise points to traditional depth. Trapping, pulp cutting, and some craft work form the other prime elements of the earned money component of the economy, all, interestingly, closely connected with the original habitat adaptation.

---

* Upper actually means Northern, as the drainage of Lake Winnipeg is to the North making the "Upper" Narrows lower in the conventional sense.

A shift from the environment of the Precambrian Shield east of Lake Winnipeg to the flat, marshy landscape of the Interlake was not as extreme as might be supposed. While the granitic formations of the Shield give way to glacial features on top of sedimentary formations, the vegetation is virtually the same: Boreal Forest and parkland. The fauna correspondingly remained the same, with the likelihood that very thin human populations probably made for a high density of moose and other large game in this area.

Today, the Jackhead Community numbers around 400. In 1969 a public relations firm (Hedlin-Menzies) was engaged to do an economic development study at Jackhead. The study was requested by the band, and funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It entails an evaluation of economic potential for the reserve. The population density of the Jackhead area (about 50 square miles) was calculated to be 0.2 persons per square mile. The area, because of its low economic potential, is considered to be overpopulated. The reserve itself contains 3,326 acres of almost completely non-productive land, which ..."does little more than provide a space on which the residents can live and have their community" (p.15). In 1969, the resident population was seen to be increasing at a rate of about 5.6% per year. In 1956, the resident population was 116, in 1968 it had risen to 201, and projections included a resident population of 295 in 1975* and 386 in 1980. The last few years have seen the return of many band members to the reserves and Jackhead reflects this trend by being somewhat ahead of the 1969 projections.

---

* In 1972 the population had reached 294.

In 1969, the figures for "educational level" were based upon 1961 census data (for Manitoba Census Division 12). For Jackhead, the average level of formal education of persons past age five and not attending school was not higher than grade IV, and probably lower. In 1969, the "labour force" included 57 men, and 48 women between the ages of 15 and 65. Fishing was the preferred occupation with 11 persons collectively earning $8,000. Pulp cutting has had an irregular history with the year 1969 yielding no income at all, and only casual employment since then. A caterpillar tractor purchased for use in this work broke down and was never repaired. This same problem has arisen on other reserves.* Trapping yielded a total of $2,130.00 to 17 men during the 1967-68 season, an average of $125.36 per trapper. A fourth category of money income is the collecting of Seneca root, but no figures have been assembled. Temporary welfare expenditures in 1967-68 totalled $8,172.

At the time of the 1969 study, Manitoba Hydro was just initiating the installation of generators. There was as yet no electricity, and no one had yet acquired a television set although electrical power was imminent. Some families are reported to have had radios. An important recommendation from the 1969 study was the provision of food freezers. Many families do presently have them. The study report summarizes as follows:

> "Jackhead Indian Reserve has very little in the form of natural resources upon which economic development can be based. Also, the reserve is very isolated, the level of education of the residents is not high, and the people have no knowledge of, or experience with,

---

* Equipment is sometimes provided without adequate assurances of continuous maintenance, and provisions for repair.

> modern business practices. The result is that they are unable to make effective use of what little resources they have. In our opinion, what the people of Jackhead Reserve need more than anything else is better organization." (p.46)

The emphasis on money-centered economy, and the use of urban modes in its conduct (formal education, etc.), denied these investigators insight into at least one very basic problem. "Organization" is urban.

Jackhead barely entered recorded history, being only vaguely identified in the negotiations pertaining to Treaty No.5 in 1875 (Morris 1880:150). Its only citations, however, may be of some significance in our attempt to understand the group now. They were, from the start, an important participating group in the great ceremonies of the Ojibwa on Lake Winnipeg. Throughout much of the 19th and early 20th Centuries Jackhead was a center for the Grand Medicine Society (Mide-wiwin) and several of the Jackhead shamans were its leaders.

The most institutionalized development in Ojibwa religion was this "Grand Medicine Society" (Hoffman 1891, Landes 1968), and Jackhead was, for a time, its prime center on Lake Winnipeg (Hallowell, 1936:46). That Jackhead was already established as an Ojibwa band locality in the 18th Century is confirmed by the fact that Yellow Legs, a famous head man and Mide shaman, was born there and died "probably not later than 1830" (Hallowell 1936:47). Miracles are attributed to him, such as walking on the water from the mouth of the Berens River out to Jack Head Island, and instances are recorded in which he was able to make a rock animate. Perhaps the most spectacular of Yellow Legs' performances was his "remote killing" of a golden eagle while it soared high in the sky. On this occasion, he placed a spear point in the palm of one hand and slapped it with the other. The eagle fell to the ground, and, upon opening the bird, the spearpoint was found within the eagle's heart. While Yellow Legs moved back east to the mouth of the Berens River, it is interesting to note that he returned occasionally to Jackhead "to secure medicine" (Hallowell 1936:48). In all probability, Jackhead had maintained the Midewiwin throughout the life of that community. The "election" of councillors during the treaty negotiations of 1876 (Morris 1880: 154-6, Hallowell 1936: 45-47) favoured Shaman-headmen, and Jackhead's success in providing a representative in this collective agreement suggests power from that locality. This is especially interesting since it was one of the smallest bands identified in those deliberations, with a reported population of sixty in 1875 (Morris 1880:150). The "Head Chief of the Island Bands", sagatci.weas ("one who comes up over the mountain"- a reference to Thunder Bird) was drawn during these elections from the Bloodvein River Band. This man was an eminent Mide shaman, and appears to have had very close connections with Jackhead. In fact, another "miracle" of historical dimensions is attributed to him while participating in the Annual Midewiwin meeting *at* Jackhead. In this performance, he impaled a Mide colleague's tongue with a sharpened stick, cut the tongue off, walked around the lodge with it, and then replaced it. Presumably at the same celebrations, a Mide named makatci.wewe (black snow goose) poured water down the barrel of a muzzle-loading gun, and then miraculously fired it.

The famous "shaking tent" noted in our previous studies as a traditional analog for television (Granzberg, Hamer and Steinbring 1977:154) is well identified in Jackhead shamanism. In fact, a classical test of it, prompted by skepticism, is recorded by Hallowell (1942:80-81).

> An old man across Lake Winnipeg at Jack Head told me the following anecdote about his father. On one occasion when he was conjuring some white people were present. They were overheard to say that it was the conjurer who was doing the singing, not the spirits. So my informant's uncle, who knew a little English, called out to his brother, the conjurer, and told him what the white people said. An agreement was made to repeat the performance the next night and the four white men told the conjurer that they would

> give him five dollars apiece if he convinced them that he did not do the singing. So the conjurer ordered a lodge of forty poles built the next day and to each corner had ropes attached. These were tied to stakes in the ground like a tent so that the structure could not be shaken. When everything was ready the conjurer first walked around the lodge and shook it a little from the outside. It was very firm. Then he told the skabewis to raise the canvas covering. Taking off the new black broadcloth coat he was wearing he folded it up and shoved it into the lodge which began shaking at once. Then he sat down outside a little distance from the lodge. It not only continued to shake, but the pawaganak came in and sang just the same. So the white men paid him the money they promised".

When sagatci.weas died, the annual ceremonies continued to be held at Jackhead, with wawasan ("lightning"), born at Jackhead, the leader. This man had been trained by Yellow Legs. Three of his sons assisted him, and Hallowell believed that one of them, manzi.ɲapkinegewinini ("the man who is painting the rock") was still alive in 1936. When Lightning died, the sons continued the Mide at Jackhead, and also at Hole River across Lake Winnipeg to the South East.

There is some evidence that common Ojibwa ceremony became locally intensified and elaborated at Jackhead. Hallowell (1967: 169) notes a ceremony involving the spirits of the dead which lasted for ten nights, a period even eclipsing the seven-day Midewiwin celebrations. This is all the more curious in light of the fact that the economic resources at Jackhead have always been more limited than those of other Ojibwa concentrations. In this particular ceremony, the final night was characterized by much drumming and singing, and the main participants were those who had seen the spirits of dead relatives in their dreams. Now, these spirits appeared, "floating above the ground", and issuing sounds like gulls. The significance of this variation is the intensity of community involvement, since all other known variations are of much shorter duration. It would appear that this intensification, still only part of a wide span of summer rituals, confirms the regional religious power of Jackhead.

Until very recently Hallowell was probably the only professional Algonkianist to actually visit Jackhead. The above data on ceremony very likely stems from a trip he made from the mouth of the Berens River to Jackhead in the 1930's (1967: 196-197)). He travelled via Flathead Point, Pigeon Point, Commissioner's Island, Sandhill Island, and Stony Point. The trip took 1½ days. Today there is steady traffic between Berens River and Jackhead, a trip which takes only a few hours in a 21-foot "Gimli" boat with a 50-horsepower motor (standard equipment for most fishermen).

The findingsof secretly cached Mide paraphernalia in 1970 by pulp company employees prompted inquiries which led to data not known to Hallowell. The materials were reported by a maternal grand daughter, Keewatin ("North Wind", and also known as Mrs. Scott) to be the equipment of George Traverse, a famous Mide who died about the time of the First World War. Since his Native name is not known, he may have been Lightning himself. According to his granddaughter (Figure 1), George Traverse was taken to prison (possibly as a result of local applications of the infamous "potlatch law") where, refusing to become "Christian" through baptism, he committed suicide by hanging. Apparently the body was returned to Jackhead for burial where it is reported to have been interred, next to a brother, at a place apart from the Christian cemetery. George Traverse's Mide paraphernalia is said to have been placed by his son Peter in a "quiet place in the bush". This is indeed Ojibwa tradition, and there are many instances of it in the early 20th Century. In at least one other case, the location is described as "a clean place in the bush". While Mrs. Scott listed three trainees under George's direction, she, curiously, stated that he did not train a person from Jackhead and that the Mide "died there" when George died. The trainees were from Scanterbury, Bloodvein, and Hole River. Mrs. Scott identified pictographic scrolls of birchbark found by the pulp company people as being his "master Scroll" and the three scrolls he used in training leaders in the three other bands. There is a strong suggestion that the Midewiwin was carried on at Jackhead well after George Traverse's death. Presently living informants state that the last major ceremony there took place in 1942. So powerful were the fears of imprisonment that Mrs. Scott appears to have covered up for the Midewiwin even until her death in 1975. Since the society was itself secret, and she herself was a 1st Degree Mide, this would not have been too difficult. It is a lesson in traditional Saulteaux mentality at Jackhead.

Even today Saulteaux of the neighbouring Pequis Band hold Jackhead shamanism in awe, and assert the presence there of several powerful sorcerers. At least until comparatively recent times, Jackhead's isolation and constant interaction with Berens River had served to maintain a high level of traditionality.

A Short History of Change

Like most Sub-Arctic hunting groups, the Jackheaders experienced a series of classic accultural events. First came itinerant fur traders - either "coureurs des bois" slightly in advance of La Verendrye's penetration of the Lake Winnipeg basin in 1734, or "official" traders associated with La Verendrye himself. These people, and their successors in the trade, established the material dependency of Native populations by introducing iron axes, knives and kettles, as well as a host of ornamental fascinations. Soon this trade was to bring an element to the change process that many feel led to a downright disintegration of Native culture - namely alcohol. There is no data on the import of alcohol on Jackhead specifically in the early historic period, but its universal acceptance by other Saulteaux suggests that they too probably adopted it in the 18th Century. The emphasis on beaver in the initiation of a trapping economy brought on a reduction in the mobility which had characterized the Ojibwa cultural system since its establishment. The trading posts, along with growing material dependency, hastened the development of local settlements, a grossly inefficient settlement pattern for optimum Sub-Arctic environmental adaptation. To these growing communities were soon added the Christian missionaries who worked assiduously to break down the Native religions while promoting further dependencies upon an externally inspired set of spiritual values ,with their attendant morality and practices. The missionaries built churches, furthering a sense of community structure , and later introduced the most profound deculturating process of all - the formal school. The growing contacts with government personnel, and the development of organized economic ventures like commercial fishing, and pulp cutting round out the central vehicles of change for most Sub-Arctic Native communities up through the 1940's. Even the treaties themselves and other kinds of governmental negotiations had a minimal role in culture change when compared to those we have listed. Up to the present day, it would probably be correct to say that no Jackheader has ever seen an unabridged copy of the Canadian Indian Act, and only a handful have read small parts of the "office abridgement". Through 1979 the Chief of the Jackhead Band, a highly intelligent and resourceful leader, had a Fourth Grade education.

In the 1950's Canada awakened to its North, and the Native populations who had lived there for thousands of years became visible. The urban connection was accelerated in many ways, and some Native people began to learn that they were poor. This new self-awareness, and the feelings it aroused in the general population, led eventually to the universal distribution of unearned money income - mostly in the form of Family Allowance cheques, but also through many forms of welfare and marginal "training" programs. The ultimate effect of this was to intensify dependency. Clinical research in the cross-cultural implications of this is grossly inadequate. However, there is substantial evidence that, while Ojibwa are all affected by this dependency at all levels of psycho-social experience, the exact manner in which they are affected differs drastically from that encountered in the urban Western world. Basically, it is not self-diminishing as it is in the urban setting.

To unearned money income may be added another truly significant accultural event - road connection. This, of course, brings instant physical communication and a standard series of further changes. These latter include the virtually unresearched process of automobile adoption, the expansion of telephone service, and the introduction of hydro-electric power - first through generators and later by direct line. Hydro-electric power brings refrigeration new forms of heating and lighting, and, finally the electronic communications that include television.

In some Saulteaux reserves, certain families very early availed themselves of wind generators and the massive battery packs which permitted commercial radio reception. These, however, were rare. The precedent for these was set by resident teachers and missionaries. The awkward battery rigs became obsolete, at least for purposes of radio-reception, when transistor sets became universal in the early 1960's. No Saulteaux families at Jackhead are known to have had these generators, and the penetration of a road to the reserve in 1959 brought a generator for the day school. Transistors soon arrived, also because of the road. In 1969, community generators were introduced. Thus, within a decade at Jackhead, the road brought hydro-electric power, gas-powered land vehicles, radios, television, and an unlimited supply of alcohol.

Figure 1

Top: "Keewatin" (on right), descendant of the famous Jackhead shaman, George Traverse.

Bottom: Heart of the Jackhead community, a view to the West from the fishing station dock. First log school, and Anglican Church in background.

Figure 2

Main Street of Fisher Branch, nearest "big" town to Jackhead. Population about 900.

Figure 3

Television repair shop in Fisher Branch. This is the closest shop to Jackhead.

Figure 4

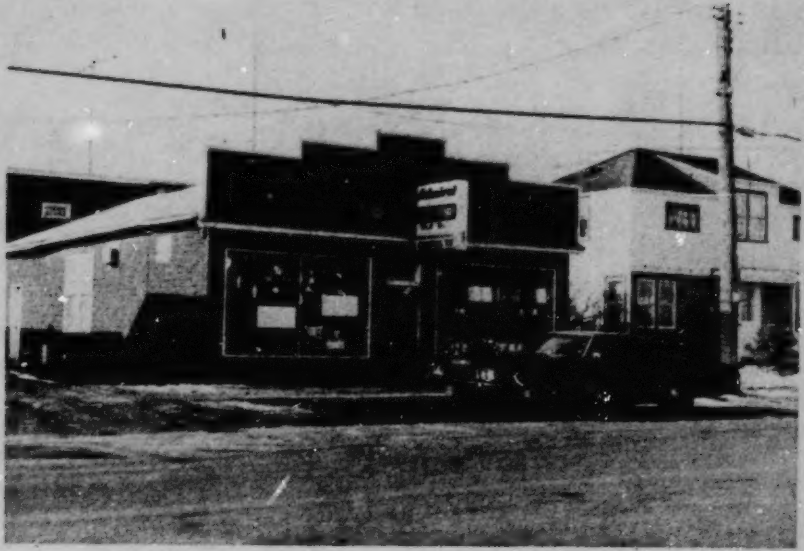
Main Street of Hodgson, a very small town about sixty miles south of Jackhead. It has the nearest alcohol supply.

Figure 5

The Hodgson Legion, nearest pub to Jackhead.

Fig 2

Fig 3



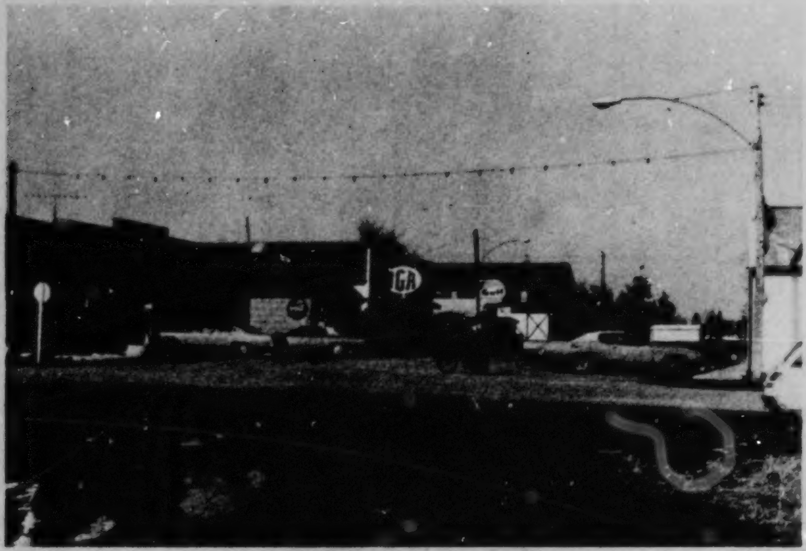


Fig 4

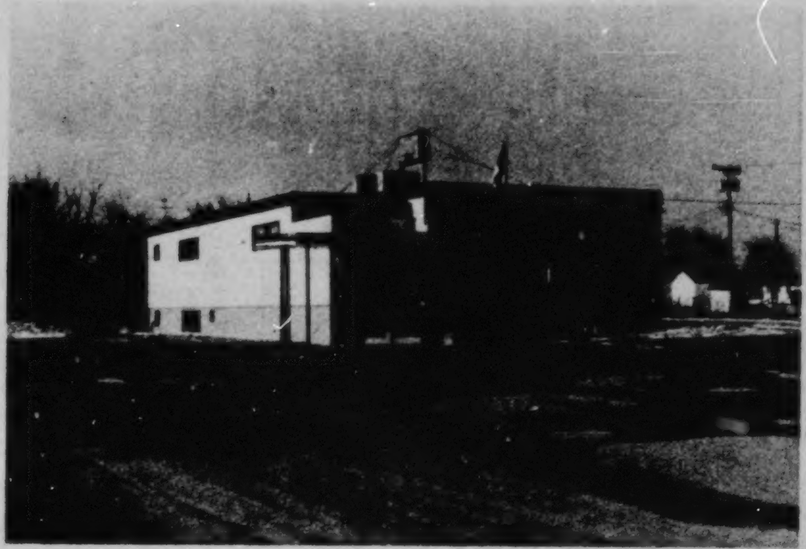


Fig 5

Figure 6

Combined store and dwelling at Jackhead. Note tall spruce antenna mast.

Figure 7

Pentecostal Chapel, Jackhead.

Figure 8

Religious sign put up by Pentecostals on the Jackhead reserve.

Figure 9

Nursing station and dwellings at Jackhead. Note television antennae, and vandalism on building at right.

Fig 6

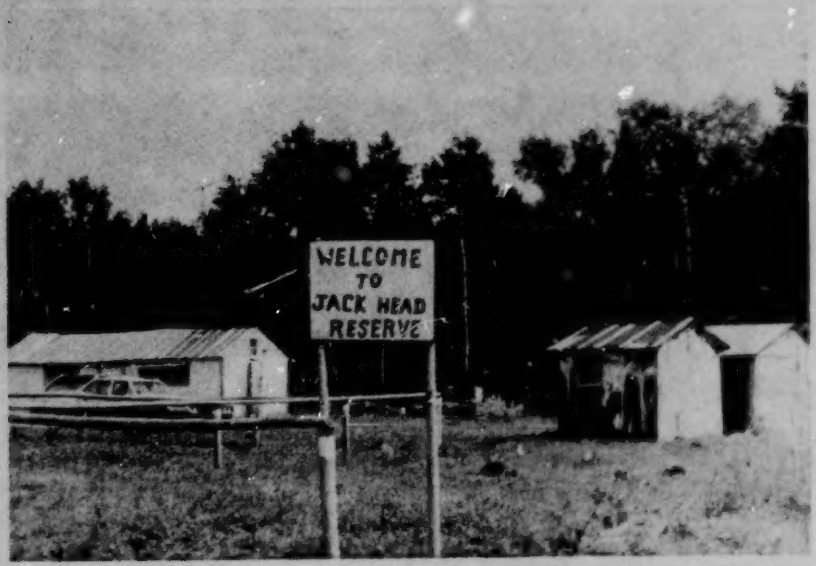


Fig 7

Fig 8

Fig 9

Figure 10

Jackhead band office.

Figure 11

Generating plant, Jackhead.

Figure 12

The Jackhead fishing station.

Figure 13

Fisherman returning to station from Lake Winnipeg.

Fig 10

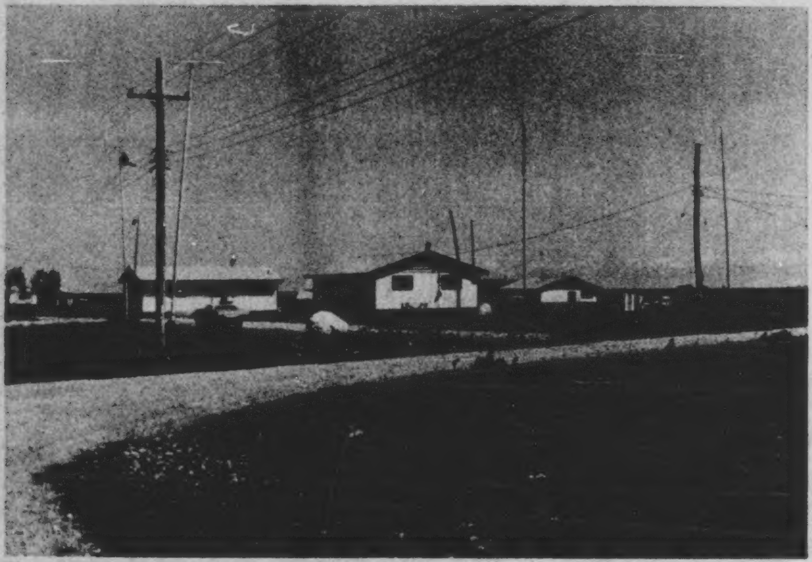


Fig 11

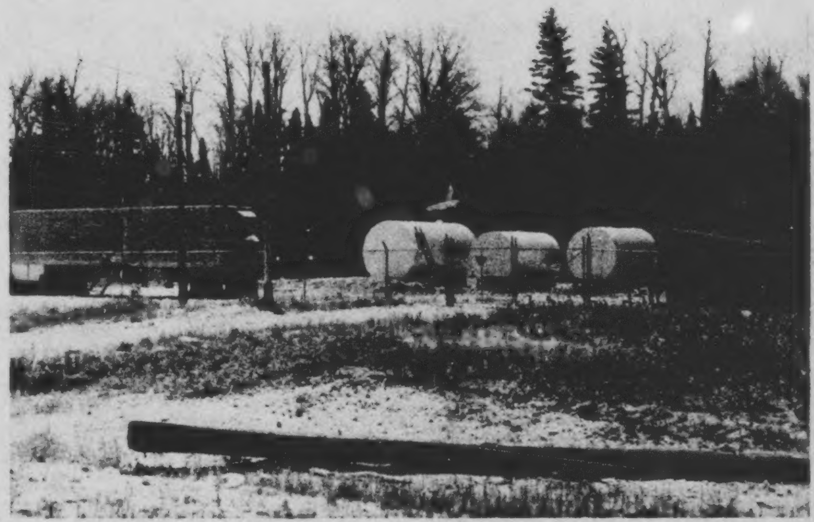


Fig 12

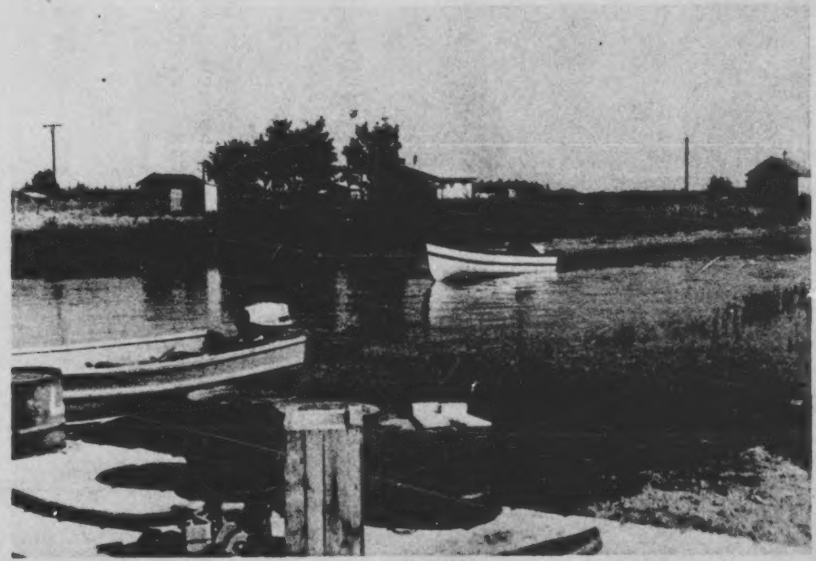


Fig 13

Figure 14

Fisherman unloading his catch at the station dock, Jackhead.

Figure 15

Jackhead boy taking home two large whitefish from his father's catch.

Figure 16

Forestry cabin burned to the ground, mid-winter 1974, while unoccupied. Arson was suspected.

Figure 17

Vandalism at a Jackhead area pulp cutting camp.

Fig 14

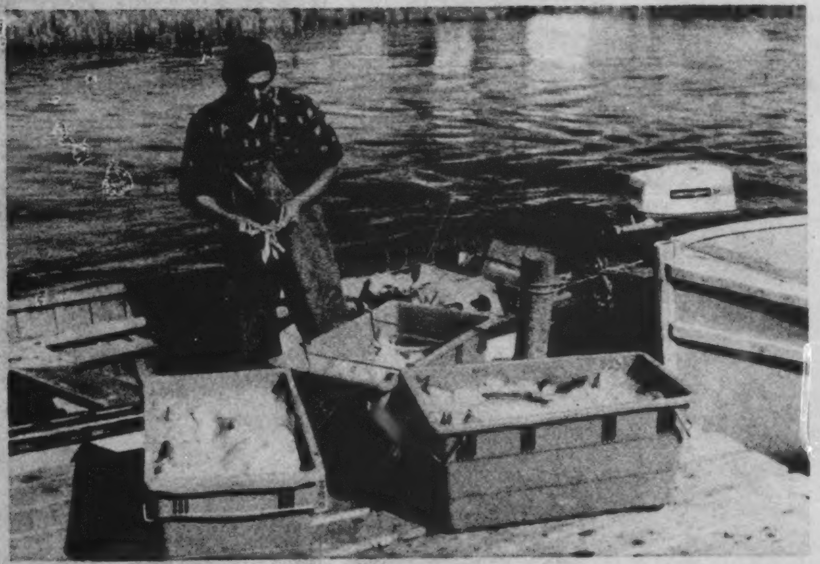
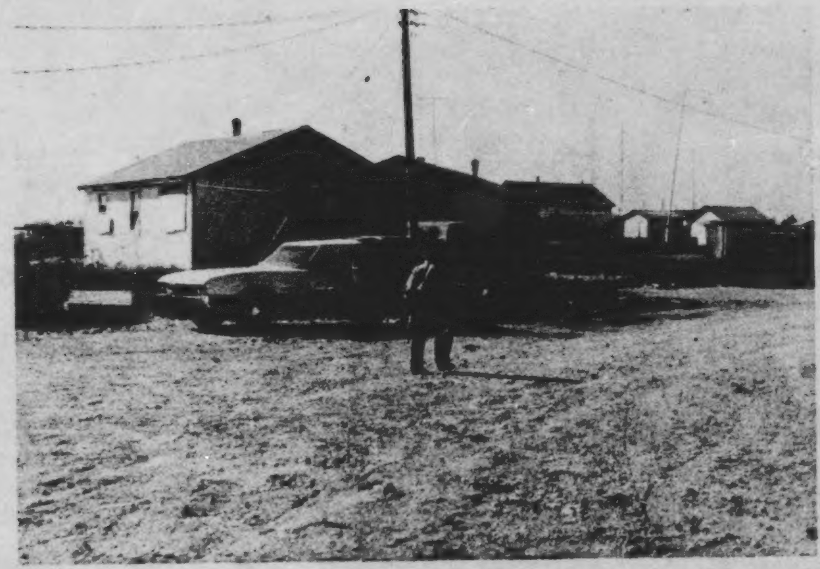


Fig 15



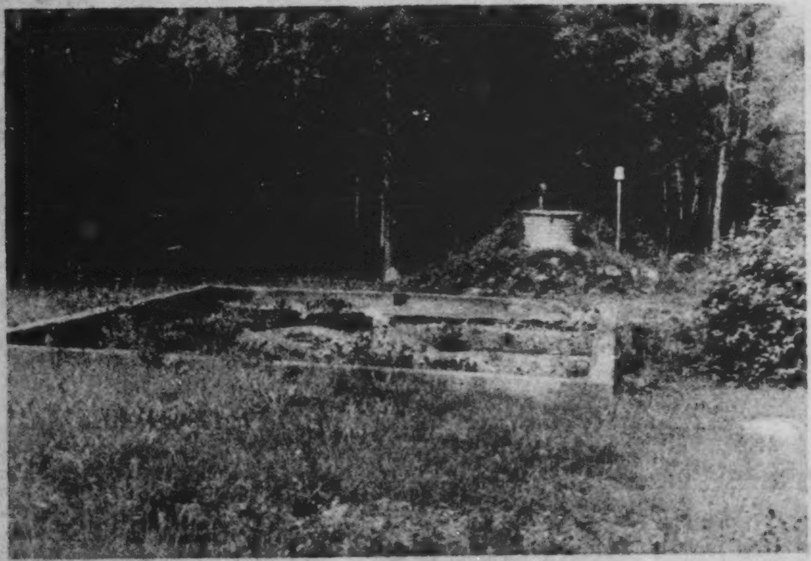


Fig 16

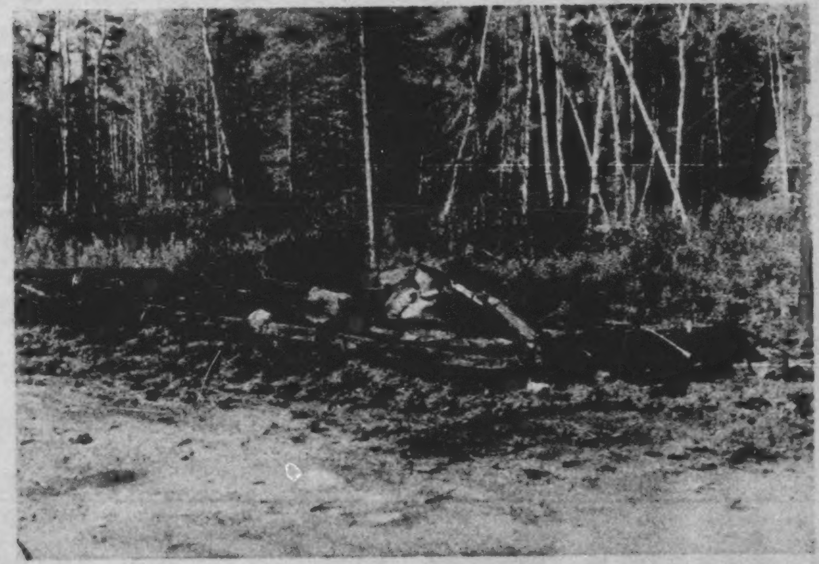


Fig 17

Figure 18

Vandalism at Jackhead area pulp cutting camp. Interior of railroad car used as a cabin.

Figure 19

Anglican Church, Jackhead. All windows have been broken by vandals, and electrical connections ripped out.

Figure 20

Microwave tower at Jackhead reserve.

Figure 21

Children at Jackhead. Older sisters often look after their young brothers.

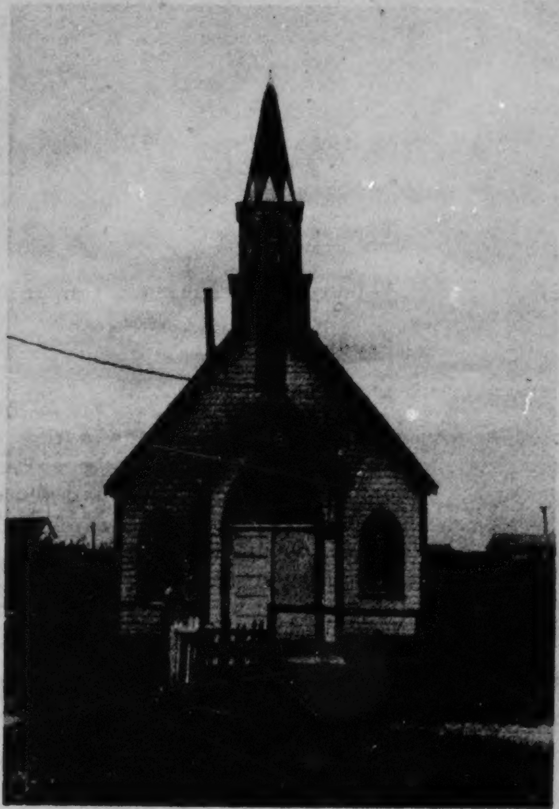


Fig 20

Fig 21

Figure 22

Vandalized reserve signs prior to 1977.

Figure 23

New Jackhead sign, 1977. Briefly, in August 1978, the sign was propped against a tree at the reserve line on the west side of the reserve. It had been salvaged from a point across the road where it had been thrown several months before. The sign reads "Jackhead Reserve, Pop.341, No Alcohol Allowed, Reserve. When this sign was first vandalized in 1977, the sign was propped behind a tree so as to read "Alcohol Allowed". In September 1978, the sign completely disappeared.

Figure 24

Cars in the ditch along the Jackhead road are a common sight. This one was lett for about a week, and experienced severe vandalism.

Figure 25

A family participating in the Video-tape study at Jackhead, 1978. Player is on chair in center. Field researcher, C. Hanks, is seated on couch at right. Boy on left is examining polariod views of "Edge of Night" episode. These were used in interview which followed twenty-two minute tape.

Fig 22

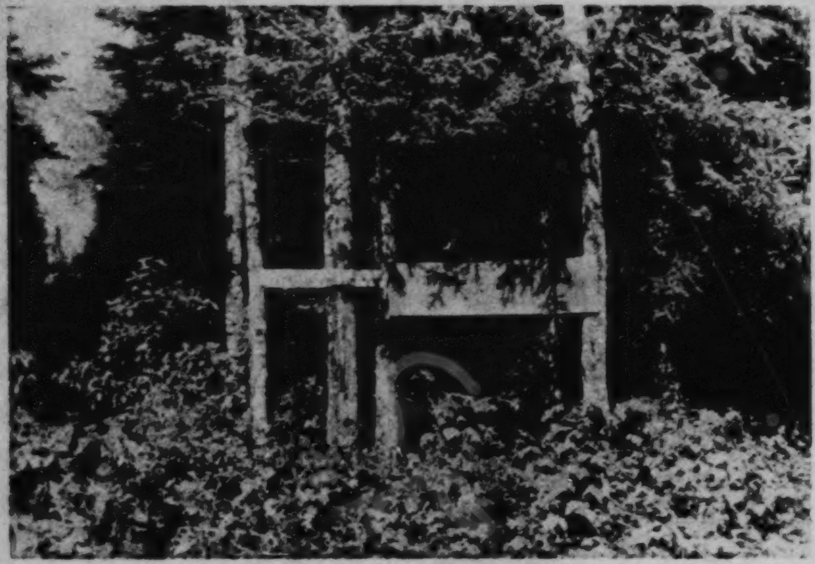
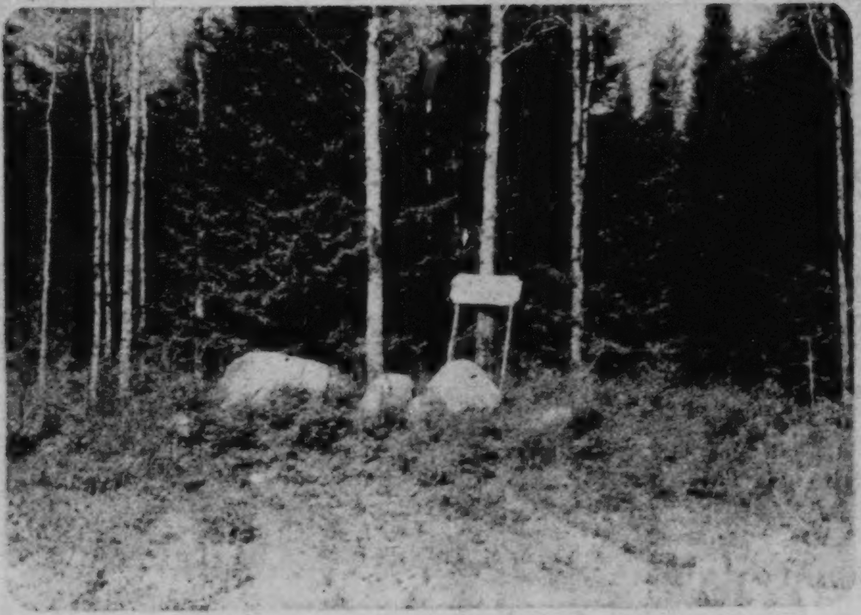


Fig 23



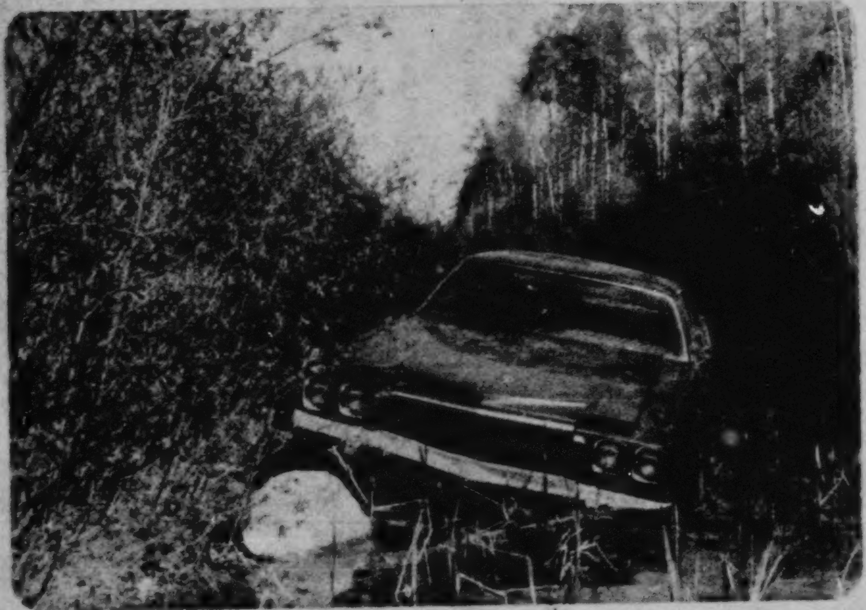


Fig 24

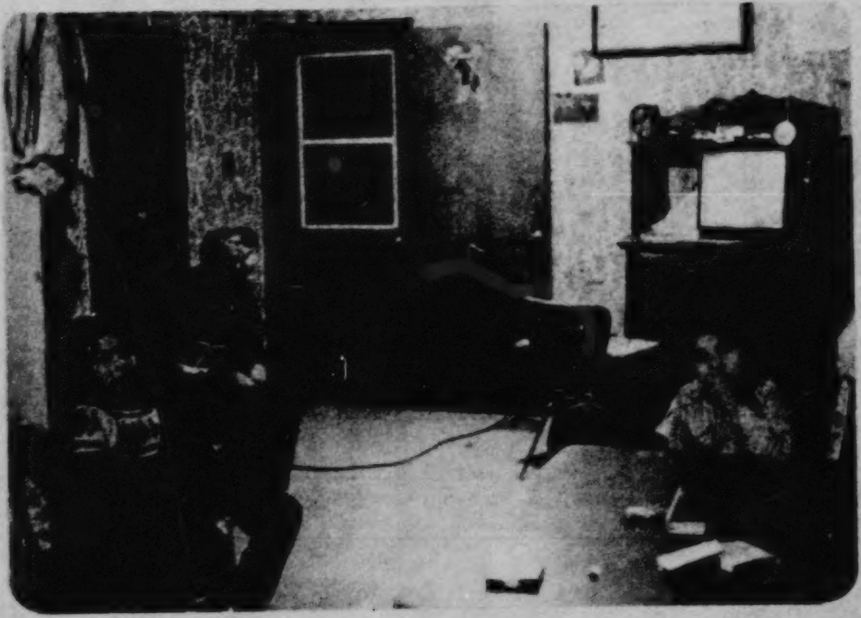


Fig 25

Television as the Jackheaders See It

It is into a social environment still greatly conditioned by supernaturalism that electronic media penetrate Jackhead. Prior to road connection, experience with these media was in the form of, first, battery-operated tube radios, and later the cheap and popular transistor. Those persons going out to hospitals, schools, or to visit relatives (or even spending time in jail) saw television in the cities, taking back their observations of it to Jackhead. Movies were brought to the community by missionaries, teachers, and by government officials like fisheries representatives and game wardens. This formed the most immediate precedent for television, and conflicting elements in dramatic movies (reportedly brought in by church people) were already being identified. Mostly, this centered upon sexuality, but violence is also mentioned.

Television transmission reached the Jackhead Reserve in 1970 via a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation relay station at Fisher Branch. The acquisition of television sets at Jackhead commenced immediately upon the installation of the first diesel generator in 1969. In the ensuing decade, five more generator units were added, and the total was then replaced by one very large unit. This latter installation also serves a micro-wave tower located just south of the reserve. The hydro-electric plant is described as costly to operate, but the provision of a direct line has not yet been elected as the economic course. At the time of this writing only two of the twenty-nine homes at Jackhead do not have television sets. One of these consists of an elderly woman who is blind, and the other is a strong traditionalist family.

As in the adoption of other technological items, the process of television integration includes many elements of experimentation. Failures, by necessity, must characterize this experience else one cannot know "accidental success" from the real thing. As had been the case with cars, the first televisions were secondhand, all bought in Fisher Branch, the largest nearby town to have a television store and repair shop (Figures 2 & 3). It soon became apparent that used televisions were a problem. They lasted only a short while at home, especially following the seventy-five mile trip in the trunk of a car, the springs and shock absorbers of which might not be adequate. Forty miles of the trip, moreover, were (and are) of a very rough nature. At times, the used televisions did not function at all when they reached the reserve. There were, of course, no warranties on these, and some families experienced several failures without recourse. Warnings are expressed on some occasions, and instructions on maintenance were also given. Eventually, most families made efforts to acquire brand new sets, and more than half of the Jackhead families have had more than one new television set. The problems associated with jolting in transportation are present for new sets as well as used ones, and more than one new set has failed to function upon arrival at the reserve. It is known that, in at least one case, the warranty was not honoured, because the seller felt that due care in transport was not provided. Knowing the road, and the general condition of cars, it is a wonder that more sets do not experience difficulty. The cost of repairs is cited as the reason for the frequent discard of non-working sets. As in other communities of this general study, the cost factor seems less than an adequate explanation for the frequency of discard, especially since replacements are normally new.

The period of experimentation, as it pertains to the hardware dimension, is greatly complicated (as it always is) by the indigenous cognates of behaviour. The relativistic stance expressed in chapters 1-5 applies to the material, as well as to the non-material world. In the case of material integrations, one must review Algonkian "materiality" in order to understand the problems of television installation and maintenance. While it may seem too remote in the modern context, the lake-forest adaptation of Algonkian hunters forms the continuing basis for some identity maintenance and a great deal of the intercultural stress, whether in the material or non-material spheres. This basic adaptation, forming over thousands of years, evolved psychological and philosophic qualities perfectly balanced to permit, within a unique system of interdependent functions, the maintenance of Algonkian culture - itself the overall means of environmental adjustment. Fundamental to this system was (and to some extent still is) a pragmatism of unparallelled dimensions. The entire material universe existed as a complex of resources readily exploitable by all. A few uncomplicated rules of supernatural governance served to check excesses, but the overall design was predicated upon individual resourcefulness and, in the Man-Nature equation, immediacy. Proper Ojibwa enculturation and socialization yielded a person capable of meeting any exigency in a mobile and variable environment. Exploitation, the essence of environmental (and thus material) behaviour was thus characterized by unique events. Continuity and generalization would in this system be dangerous impediments. Fixity, brought on by such a rationale, would serve ultimately to prevent the free execution of artful acts as unique responses to human need and to the constantly changing material universe.

Translation of the philosophic into the problems of maintenance quite directly involves the lack of continuity. A graphic example may be given in the case of an elderly informant's construction of a birch bark drinking cup while on a trip in the bush. The old man needed a cup. He drew his knife and cut a piece of bark from a nearby tree. He then deftly folded it into the shape of a small box. He broke a small branch from the same tree, broke it into two short pieces, the ends of which he then slit a short way with his knife. These he then placed at the opposite upper ends of the box in the fashion of clothes pins. The whole operation took less than one minute. The drinking cup, which was completely watertight and held about a quart, was promptly discarded after we had our lunch.

It would have been dysfunctional to keep the cup, to carry it with us in the bush. It would have been cumbersome, awkward, and could very well have interfered with gun handling. Conceivably, we might have missed a shot by carrying it along. The Western mode in materiality is acquisitive, value-oriented, and features maintenance. Now, it becomes easier to explain the difficulty that Algonkians often have with concepts of maintenance - the derelict tractors and farm machinery, failures in animal husbandry, great reluctance to regularize as in school or work routines. Thousands of years of process have created an internal balance in thought, belief, and action which does not submit easily to external pressures. And, even if one facet of it at times does, it does not do so at all times, and the other facets may not submit at all.

The experimentation phase of television adoption undoubtedly found many cases of conflict between indigenous thought and the "need" for maintenance. While the cost of this may be seen as entirely economic, with the dozens of unnecessary television purchases, the retention of Algonkian logic has a subconscious value. If it did not, the overall pragmatism of that logic itself would form the immediate basis of practical decisions. Clearly, it did not. The Algonkian idiom was being maintained.

Within four years of the provision of continuous electrical power, all but three Jackhead homes had acquired a television set. Some had gotten as many as four sets during this period. Not having the ability to read and understand the instruction booklets for new sets, and having even less of an understanding of used ones, numerous problems of simple adjustment arose. On some occasions, a set went unused for months because the available controls for vertical hold, horizontal hold, contrast and brightness were not correctly manipulated. Some persons, knowing that the programs were coming from Winnipeg, oriented their antennae toward Winnipeg one hundred and ninety miles away, and not toward the powerful relay station at Fisher Branch only sixty-eight miles away. The correct alignment of the antenna itself was sometimes not understood, and, while the directional orientation was correct, the antenna would be aligned backwards with the "receiving end" toward the North. It was soon recognized that height above ground was an important factor in reception, and some enterprising families cut very long spruce or jackpine poles to accommodate their antennae. These served until the Fisher Branch relay station was augmented, and now, with a nearby micro-wave tower, antennae are obsolete.

In the experimental phase, a certain lore develops around television as it does for any major integration. One man, for example, expressed the strong belief that the reason his set was not functioning well was because his set was small and he had a very large antenna. He traded his new small set for a large old set and pointed out the great improvement in reception this had made. It is a fact that it did work well, and to the pragmatic rationale of the Saulteaux this is proof. This process entailed all the rudiments of science. It was entirely logical, starting with the problem, examining all facts pertaining to it, setting up an hypothesis, conducting an experiment to test the hypothesis, and stating a conclusion. Unencumbered by the trappings of electronic sophistry this is only one tiny insight into a vast body of problem-solving as related to television integration.

While psychosocial factors in Saulteaux life will be handled in some detail later, it is necessary to mention here one element of this subject as it pertains to electronic hardware. Saulteaux child-rearing is characterized by great permissiveness and indulgence. This is felt by authorities to enhance independence and self-reliance in the traditional hunting culture. The pattern persists, despite many changes in the culture, and would form support for those theorists who believe that the less tangible aspects of culture are, in fact, the most tenacious historically. At any rate, children in the Saulteaux families at Jackhead are rarely punished, and their actions are not restricted. They receive all the material advantages that their parents (and grandparents) can provide them. How this indulgence becomes translated into problems with electronic hardware is through the unrestrictive manipulation of sets, both through extensive use and adjustment. The cultural rationalizations for this indulgence, which basically have supernatural connotations, prevent adults from harshly restraining the children from turning sets on and off and playing with the various controls. While this has undoubtedly had an effect upon the functioning of television sets at Jackhead, elsewhere its most dramatic influence has been in connection with the use of telephones. Receivers are lifted off their hooks, played with, and left dangling - sometimes for hours. Those capable of dialling sometimes get long distance numbers, again leaving receivers off after the connection is made. These problems, of course, must be worked out by the people themselves. The values which lie behind the conflicting behaviour are identity-sustaining, and to relinquish them in favour of adopting externally inspired material traits becomes a threatening and stressful contradiction. In societies with any reasonable degree of integrity, the abandonment of such fundamental values and processes is not possible. Complex accommodations are necessary.

INITIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD TELEVISION

It is, of course, extremely difficult to elicit fully acceptable data on events occurring nearly a decade ago. During 1974 and 1975, many non-directive interviews were conducted in which some leverage on early television experience was obtained. For the most part, this can be generalized into (a) expectations, and (b) accommodation. The "hardware" dimension of accommodation has already been dealt with. In this case, as in the overall design of the project, we are concerned to develop insights into the psychological, philosophic, and sociological elements of accommodation. But, first, we must consider expectation.

In hindsight, almost everyone says that they had expected television to have been a positive influence. While it would provide news, sporting events, and entertainment (in that order), the most significant expectation was as a diversion to offset delinquency. This, of course, has been practically a universal expectation among Native groups (including Inuit) scheduled to receive television signals. In all likelihood, however, "delinquency" in 1969 at Jackhead would not have been as serious a matter as it was in larger, more exposed reserves. There is the chance that Jackheaders using this as a generality about expectation would, at least in part, be following a minor convention on the subject, heavily invested with the strength of long family conversations on a topic of great historical importance. A few responses do seem especially supportable. One, for example, is the case of a man with four daughters. He had thought that television would "keep the girls at home nights". Very few could offer such a specific case, and the overview on social control becomes too grossly general, in the light of many post-television years, to convey empirical weight.

This returns us to the Algonkian idiom, and indeed the whole process of cultural integrations from an applied anthropological stance. There is, on the cultural border, a supreme degree of objectivity when it comes to innovation. Few Native societies reject, out of rigid traditionalism, all impingements into their collective experience. After all, it is often seen that traditional values may be sustained and advanced by such innovations. What is seen on television can sometimes help to defend identity on an objective, conscious, plane. A Jackhead informant seeing famine conditions in a distant land remarked: "Their living is somehow different and makes us grateful for whatever we have". Couple this thought with the remarkable pragmatism of Algonkians (and many other North American cultures) and one begins to see a phase of almost "academic" interest in the process of integration. It is a period of severe scrutiny, of testing the addition for its potential benefits, and its potential dangers.

Three years after the advent of television at Jackhead, a clear selective dimension had become expressed in its use. Initially, sets were turned on (by anyone) when programs of the day started, and left on until the last family member went to bed. Children had continuous access to all programs when at home, and adults, in their initial fascination, also spent a great deal of time watching. As time went by, people became aware of the various costs of this preoccupation, both economic and human. Television use is now often characterized by a strong element of discrimination.

A "human cost" soon apprehended by Jackhead families was the apparent influence television had upon the behaviour of small children. Whether objectively demonstrated or not, many adults at Jackhead expressed the view that violence in both cartoons and dramatic programs soon affected the nature of play among youngsters. They began hitting one another and generally employing hostile tactics in play situations.* For some families this process is said to have already been set in motion by movies brought in by missionaries and Government people. Parents became apprehensive about this, contrasting such behaviour with the common non-aggressive themes which had previously dominated Ojibwa child play. Interview data strongly suggests that this conclusion was reached quickly by many, if not all, television-using families in the initial period of use. It is fundamentally consistent with our general knowledge of Ojibwa personality and patterns of child play (Hilger 1951, Hallowell 1955: 125, 172,

---

* One of the most critical aspects of this change in the specific behaviour of play interaction between children is the use of weapons.

203, 277, 291, 345, Densmore 1929: 48-59, Landes 1938: 2-4, 1966: 121-123, Parker 1960: 617, Hamer 1969: 230-232, 238-239).

Selectivity, however, could not be implemented without conflict in another area of customary social behaviour. As mentioned earlier, child care among the Ojibwa, as among most hunting societies of highly individualistic tradition, is profoundly permissive. Thus to impose "protective restrictions" upon a child opened up a raw cleavage between an increasing acculturational need, and the conservation of an extremely deep-rooted principle with untold social and psychological ramifications. It may be some measure of Jackhead acculturation that television use did become selective, both from the standpoint that sufficient integrity made decision possible, and that a wider and wider social awareness created the potential for basic changes without risk. Many years of formal Canadian education in reserve day schools, and road exposure to the cities since 1958 had undoubtedly prepared the way. The power of the Pentecostal church, with its many prohibitions, very probably played a strong role in this preparation as well. A problem for which no data is as yet available is the acute differentiation of male-female identification in traditional Saulteaux psycho-social development (Parker 1960: 617, Landes 1966: 121, 1938: 3-5, Hallowell, 1955: 288, 305, Hamer 1969: 220-226, Barry, Bacon and Child 1957).

For the Jackheaders, all this raises a very complex set of questions, since it is true that resistance to television was (and is) certainly centered among the most traditional persons and families. "Traditional" thought and behaviour at Jackhead, however, has been perpetuated by innovation. Christianizing influences up to about thirty years ago, other than forcing young people into the residential school system, had little effect upon basic Saulteaux culture. In the immediate post-war years, however, fundamentalist missionaries began to arrive in the Sub-Arctic, and it was not too long before "Pentecostal", "Apostolic", and other variations of "charismatic renewal" (McDonnell 1976) became a profound threat to the continuity of the originally established large denominational churches. Pentecostal has become an important force in Jackhead society, an influence brought on by the fact that the related Fairford, Lake-St.-Martin, Pequis, and Fisher River reserves in the Manitoba Interlake have come, through these three decades, to form a powerful centre for this sect. Thousands of Native people come from great distances to attend the summer gatherings at Fairford. Tent meetings at Koostatak (Fisher River Reserve) attract many twice a week from Jackhead sixty miles away by rough road. The process appears to precisely confirm the findings of Hippler (1973: 1538-1539) who observed fundamentalism among Athabascans to provide a defense against aggressive and disruptive behaviour, as brought about by the breakdown of traditional controls through acculturation.

There is a significant relationship between this fundamentalism at Jackhead and some details of television adoption. Pentecostals abstain from alcohol, tobacco, dancing, fiddling (guitar playing is all right), gambling, and movies. The last-named abstention undoubtedly caused extensive deliberation and rationalization upon the introduction of television. Movies in school, or even official government training and information films, had not been accepted. At present the nature and extent of these deliberations and rationalizations are not known. There is data only on the current situation. Apparently all Pentecostals have accepted television, at least the most traditional and conservative families have sets and use them. However, there is a very sharp and anxious separation in views about the movies shown on television. The elders hold strictly to the rule of no movies, while accepting television itself. The younger generation (20 - 40) is pondering this problem, and, is in the main accepting television movies. In this age group, there is, however, strong selectivity upon content. Sexuality in these films, for example, often causes rejection.*

The sharpness of the division between the elders and the younger generation is brought out in an example. An elderly couple of the Pentecostal faith have a television and watch it frequently. They watch the late CBC News at 11:00 p.m., and then turn off the set because the next program is the late movie. A daughter visited on a weekend, and decided to watch the late movies on Saturday night. The old people retired after the news, and the daughter watched movies until 3:00 a.m. This incident was related to the writer by the old couple for the specific purpose of illustrating the situation.

There are very clear sociological reasons for the success of Pentecostal. These reasons are based upon uniquely ethnological factors. It was because of this ethnological alignment that we sought to identify the traditional faction at Jackhead through Pentecostal affiliation and experience. It is important to understand this alignment, and to do so one must examine certain elements of the traditional Ojibwa religion (Hallowell 1942, Landes 1968).

The most important aspects of traditional Saulteaux religion to which Pentecostal (and other charismatic sects) directly relates is the vision quest. This was not unique to Saulteaux, but was virtually universal for North American Indians (Benedict 1923). For the Saulteaux it featured a four-day period of fasting for the adolescent boy. During this fast, which took place in an isolated bush location, the neophyte concentrated upon the visitation of a guardian spirit, normally in the form of an animal or bird. At some point during the fast, a low, distant sound would alert the initiate that his guardian spirit would appear. The sound would increase in volume, until, suddenly, he would be confronted by the supernatural figure. The sound would reach a crescendo upon the full visibility of the spirit, a fact noted by Davidson (1980:81) in her comparison between Ojibwa ethnomusicology and Jackhead addiction to television "soap operas". The spirit guardian might admonish the youngster about certain taboos, and might order the repetition of certain rituals for the boy's success in life. It was an absolutely abrupt, life-changing incident. The boy became a self-reliant man, now equipped with the power necessary to lead a successful adult life. Without this incident, he could not. Pentecostal revelation is almost identical to this. A "sign" is given to the person (at any point in life). At this instant he or she knows that they have received the "power of the Lord", and have become a "Christian". They renounce their past deficiencies (alcohol, adultery, tobacco, movies, card playing, etc.), and embark upon a completely new life. Some of the adherents to this faith feel invincible, as though the "spirit" will protect them through anything - as long as they follow the biblical admonitions. This, too, closely follows the traditional effects of the vision quest. Less noticeable (but not entirely absent) in Pentecostal are the ultimate contests of power between shamans who test the strength of their guardian spirits. These "tests" may now be imbedded in a complex sociology of reciprocal kin obligations and familial rivalries. Money, and "political" leverage may be the prime ingredients in this scheme, and, curiously, sickness (or even death) may be the end of the contests, just as in the traditional setting. To peer into this system, hoewever, may require a form of residential fieldwork and dedication rarely seen at this time.

---

* It remains to be seen how this restriction will affect the viewing of soap operas which show markedly increasing sexuality in 1980.

Pentecostal offers one other major attraction to ethnic alignment in the integrational process. Leaders of Pentecostal are Native, and the services are conducted in the Native language within the Native community. With the battery of abstentions from influences viewed as destructive of Native culture, the entire movement takes on a culturally reformative quality, just as Alcoholics Anonymous did during the 1960's in the Eastern Lake Winnipeg region (Steinbring 1971).

Thus a powerful combination of factors supported the integration of Pentecostal at Jackhead, and has served to make it a prominent force in the social life. While the personal revelation linked it to specific traditional behaviour, the "Nativistic" dimension linked it to general feelings of culture loss, not themselves governed by clear-cut elements of aboriginal society. This new view of the combination of major factors in the adoption of Pentecostal will add greatly to our assessment of television adoption along a more truly "aboriginal" plane. While most of the explicit rejection or resistance to television can be connected to "traditionals" who have adopted Pentecostal, this by no means implies that they are the only "traditionals" at Jackhead, or even that they are, in fact, most perfectly representative of the traditional values of the culture there. What now seems to be the case is that these may form an extreme fringe group, with rigid perspectives not even in keeping with the actual flexibility of "traditional Algonkian rationale". This rationale, in fact, is highly adaptive. It promoted a pragmatism unexceeded among Native North Americans, and allowed for great accommodation, and a high level of cultural resilience. It was this flexibility that permitted the adoption of Pentecostal in the first place, and so far as basic integrity may survive at Jackhead, it will permit cars, and television, and advanced fishing technology, and a whole lot else.

This renewed application of the more central core of Algonkian rationale enables us to explain the otherwise contradictory acceptance of television generally by 1974 (Steinbring 1975). As our earlier reports indicated, resistance could be linked to those traditionalists who adopted Pentecostal. What we did not take full account of at that time was the fact that television adoption itself did not, in any way, preclude traditionality. It was, as our further studies have shown, (Hamer, Steinbring et al. 1975, Granzberg et al. 1977), what was made of it that might be connected with the traditional and non-traditional. Perceptions of it as a phenomenon are also so conditioned, and thus we get attempts to explain these perceptions by some in terms of an analogy to the "shaking tent" which had similar functions in the aboriginal context.* An ardent Pentecostal man summarized his views on television:

> "In the Bible it says we'll see many signs and wonders and this television is one of them ... I can't say I don't like television because the Lord don't like for us to hate anything but love them, cause we'll be judged in the end by our Lord. I can't judge the T.V., but the Lord can".

---

* The word for television is often the same as the one used for "shaking tent", and the words for shutting it on or off are equivalent to "opening it up" or "closing it" - both aboriginally used in connection with the commencement or ending of the shaking tent ritual or the use of a medicine bag (containing power).

It is difficult to say where the "experimental" phase of integration ends and the "accommodation" phase begins in television (or for that matter in anything else!). Certainly the basic nature of Algonkian culture ensures that the experimental be present, and, probably, of substantial duration. Provisional acceptance for the purpose of this phase is taken for granted, and there is as yet no known case of group rejection following it, as there is for the Inuit. At present it would seem that Jackhead is well into the "accommodation" phase of television adoption.

In one or two cases within the overall project, certain families or individuals have rejected television during the experimental phase. From the perspective suggested above, this means only that the extreme cases reflected by this have not been able to apply the traditional adjustive capability. They have found the conflicts produced by television so initially stressful that they have not been able to enter into the more advanced process of accommodation. It is in this final phase, in fact, that the deeper elements of Algonkian rationale express themselves. What we must bear in mind as we survey these accommodations is that aboriginal perceptions, not urban, will apply to both the interpretation and valuation of television elements.

On several occasions attempts have been made at Jackhead to recover statistical data on television preferences and other related subjects. The only successful effort was in 1974. Later attempts were hampered by lack of funding, sample size, the periodic addition of new channels through a stronger relay station, and the erection of a micro-wave tower at the edge of the reserve. Initially only the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation provided service and program selection was completely dependent upon it. While the synchronic character of 1975 C.B.C.

programming greatly skews impressions from what might be today, with three channels and virtually perfect reception, it does contain many clues to the acceptance and use of television by the Jackheaders. It also shows internal contradictions consistent with the accommodation phase.

The 1974 survey was conducted with the assistance of a Saulteaux interviewer, a mature married woman with two children. She was born on the reserve, and had completed Grade 10. She was fluent in English and Saulteaux. Her work was closely supervised by the project director in the field, and she received formal training for the study at Brandon University. The survey was undertaken in the Saulteaux language except in a few cases in which English was preferred by the respondents. Whole families were interviewed so far as possible, but there was a tendency for responses to be dominated by females who were more frequently at home. It must be understood that "studies" are at the offset an imposition aggravated by their entirely urban inspiration. The comparatively high level of response in this case is predicated upon the expectation that the "study" could ultimately lead to alterations in programming, and also upon the fact that someone at last was caring enough to ask the people what they themselves thought about television.

Preferences and interpretations were preceded by social data which included names and ages of adults, age and sex of children, church affiliation, and number of years of schooling. A general guide was memorized by the interviewer and every effort was made to promote a relaxed and at least partially non-directive atmosphere.

Of the thirty families living at Jackhead in 1974, twenty-seven responded to the study. Of the three not responding, one was an elderly woman who was blind and lived alone. She did not own a set, and did not expect to get one. She spoke no English. The two other families did not have sets either. One, however, expected to get one just as soon as there was enough money. The other indicated that they would never get a set. The reasons given are instructive: (a) "The little boy would break it", (b) "There isn't enough room", and (c) "Financial difficulties". All of the households not owning a television set in 1974 were active members of the Pentecostal sect.

TABLE I - PROGRAM PREFERENCES - JACKHEAD INDIAN RESERVE - JULY-AUGUST 1974

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total Respondents
EDGE OF NIGHT	9	1	4	1	1								16
FAMILY COURT	1	2	1			1							4
TARZAN			1			1	2			1			5
HAWAII-FIVE O	5	2		3	2	1		1					15
"CHAPLIN"					1	2			1				4
THIS IS THE LAW						1							1
CHURCH SERVICES	1						1						2
COLLABORATORS		1	2						1				4
RONNY PROPHET SHOW		1	1						1	1			4
CAROL BURNETT			1	1	1	1							3
"OUTERSPACE"							1						1
SESAME STREET	1	1		1	4			3	1				11
CANNON	3	5	2	2	2		1	1					16
POLICE STORY	2	2	3	5	2		1		1				16
ALL IN THE FAMILY							2		1				3
"SPORTS"	1		2				2	1					6
THE WALTONS			1		2	1	1						5
NEWS		3		1		2	2	1			1		10
MAUDE				1	1			1					3
PARTRIDGE FAMILY			1	1	1	1		1		1			6
"MOVIES"					1		1	1					3
"CARTOONS"		2			1	2		1		1	1		8
TOMMY HUNTER						1							1
COUNTRY MUSIC HALL							1						1
WALT DISNEY		1				1	1						4
BEACHCOMBERS				1				1					2
BEWITCHED	1												1
"WEST"													0
MR. DRESSUP		1		1					1	1			4
"WESTERN MOVIES"									1	2			3
FOREST RANGERS				1								1	2
HYMN SING			1	1	1								3
BLACK BEAUTY		1											1
OUTER LIMITS						1	1						2
PIERRE BERTON (HISTORY OF RR.)							1						1
"WILDLIFE"						1							1
ADAM 12			1										1
MASH						1				1			2
DUSTY'S TRAIL									1				1
SUMMERSET		1											1
"ANOTHER WORLD"			1										1
TRUTH AND CONSEQUENCES				1									1
BUGS BUNNY								1					1
"24 HOURS"			1										1
"HOCKEY"						1							1
MON AMI (Frenchman on a.m.)			1										1

The respondents were all asked to list their favourite television shows. A total of forty-six programs (or classes of programs like "sports', or "cartoons") was elicited in this way (Table No.1). They were listed in order of preference. In scoring these ranked preferences, it was found that "Edge of Night", "Cannon", and "Police Story" all had the highest number of citations by respondents, sixteen. However, "Edge of Night" was listed first by nine respondents while "Cannon" had only three "firsts" and "Police Story" only two. Also "Edge of Night" was never listed less than fifth, and fourteen of the sixteen respondents put it among the top three. The other top three ranking programs show a scatter through eighth place, but with "Cannon" and "Hawaii Five-O" having more than half in the first and second positions. Thus a crude weighting for the top four in 1975 at Jackhead would be:

1. "Edge of Night"
2. "Cannon"
3. "Hawaii Five-O"
4. "Police Story"

"Sesame Street" ran a poor fifth with eleven responses scattered from second to eleventh, and the "News" came sixth with ten responses.

TABLE 2 - "HIGH FIVE" PREFERENCES
("FIRSTS") ACCORDING TO STATED RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Anglican	Pentecostal	Catholic
Edge of Night	5	2	1
Cannon	1		2
Hawaii Five-O	2	1	2
Police Story	2		
Sesame Street	2		

Summary Statement for Table 2

It appears that while "Edge of Night" fans tend toward "traditional", Anglican is the main "listed" religion. Most of the "Anglicans" giving "Edge of Night" first choice are identified in the community (by others) as Pentecostals.* Several (across all three on "Edge of Night" firsts) are mixed families. In one, all three religions are listed, and in another, a fourth (United) is also listed.

Classing "Edge of Night" as "non-violent", and the next three as "violent", the Anglicans are equally divided with five each. The Pentecostals are two-to-one non-violent. It is very likely that the "non-violent" Pentecostal connection would be greatly strengthened by reclassing the "nominal" Anglicans as actually Pentecostal. On first ratings, then, there is a seeming relationship between "non-violent" and traditional outlook. The term "non-violent", of course, applies to the absence of outright physical violence. There is plenty of "aggression" in the tensed subcurrents of "Edge of Night".

Only three "Pentecostals" (excepting the above condition) listed No. 1 preferences among the top five, while "Anglicans" had twelve and Catholics had five. Pentecostals thus consider other programs than the community-rated top five as most desirable.

---

* A note on "Anglican" being the formally-stated religious affiliation: It may be that "most" of these have a far more active connection to Pentecostal. The act of listing may have ritualistic connotations, just as in the case of people always using two "given" names in a very formal way. This stems back to early contact times and may reflect a deep ritualistic dimension in much aboriginal behaviour (extreme system of taboos, restrictions, etc.) Acculturation at that time was conditioned by this. The "rules" of administrative contacts looked like indigenous ritual behaviour - signing names, etc.

TABLE 3 - HIGH PREFERENCES FOR FAMILIES LISTING RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AS PENTECOSTAL IN AUGUST 1975.

3A. "Firsts" for Pentecostals

1. Edge of Night
2. Family Court
3. Edge of Night
4. Hawaii Five-O
5. Church Services

Two Pentecostals are sharply opposed to television and say they will not obtain sets. Thus, of the five for whom data are available, only one lists a "violent" program as No.1. The one case may be in error, or aberrant - see below.

3B "Seconds" for Pentecostals

1. Family Court
2. Cannon
3. Family Court
4. Sesame Street
5. News

Again, only one (but, lay preacher) "violent" in second place.

3C "Thirds" for Pentecostals

1. Tarzan
2. Police Story
3. Sports
4. Edge of Night
5. Hymn Sing

Two of five in the "violent" category.

TABLE 4 - CONTROLS

	Controls	No Controls	
PENTECOSTALS	3	3	21 - not counting those who do not have sets
ANGLICAN	2	6	
CATHOLIC	1	6	
	6	15	

Summary of Table 4

Only 6 of 21 declare definite controls, of these - half are Pentecostal. Pentecostals are evenly divided between control and non-control, while both Anglican and Catholic are very weighted toward non-control (Anglican 6-2, Catholic 6-1).

TABLE 5 - FAMILIES WITHOUT TELEVISION - SUMMER OF 1974, ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

PENTECOSTALS	2	both say they will never get one
ANGLICAN		
CATHOLIC	1	will get one "next month"

TABLE 6 - INITIAL ACQUISITION OF TELEVISION SETS - ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
PENTECOSTAL	1		1		3		
ANGLICAN	5	1	1		1	1	
CATHOLIC	3	1	2	1	1		

Summary of Table 6

"Strong" Pentecostals were clearly the last to purchase sets. Pentecostals buying sets earlier may not have been members at that time. Anglicans were first to buy them in large numbers; Catholics in between. Three of five Anglicans bought sets in 1973: one in 1971; and only one bought a set when Hydro went in. On the other hand, five Anglican families bought sets immediately upon provision of electrical power (seven out of ten having sets before 1973). Seven out of eight Catholic families had sets before 1973, and three of them bought sets when the Hydro plant came in.

TABLE 7 - CONTROLS IN RELATION TO TIME TELEVISION ACQUIRED

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Controls	2	1	1		2	
No Controls	7	1	3	2	3	

TABLE 8 - NUMBER OF SETS FOR INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES AS OF JULY-AUGUST 1974

Family Number	Number of Sets Owned
1	1
2	3
3	2
4	3
5	2
6	2
7	1
8	0
9	1
10	3
11	3
12	1
13	1
14	4
15	1
16	1
17	5
18	1
19	6
20	0
21	2
22	0
23	1
24	3
25	1
26	1
27	1

There is, of course, an exceedingly sharp contrast in content between the soap opera, "Edge of Night" and the next three programs in the preference scale. In attempting to evaluate the meaning of this, programs were analytically classed as either "non-violent" or "violent".

Thus three out of the four top programs are "violent" with a collective total of forty-seven responses. Perhaps this may reflect a vicarious use of television by a psychologically "closed" population. We had earlier noted the high levels of restraint, and this observation is sustained by Granzberg's comparative psychological tests which show the highest percentage at Jackhead of "won't tell" in aggression themes. This test centered on what a youngster would do if someone threw a rock at him. The choices allowed for retaliation, informing authority, and "won't tell". His comparisons were with Oxford House, Norway House, and an urban Winnipeg population. Hallowell's classical studies of the Saulteaux had shown a highly repressive personality, with only narrow outlets in shamanism and gossip (1967:277). A precedent for vicarious utilization may already be fixed in the alliances which people made with shamans traditionally. However, as Christianity eroded the status of shamanism, gossip took on a more active role in the need for venting aggressions. It may very well be that television now functions at times as a kind of passive-aggressive mechanism. From a historical and cultural perspective, it would seem, in fact, that television would form an almost ideal device for such experience, satisfying the ethnic dimension of the accommodation phase. It could form an especially desirable outlet during the heightened stress of the overall acculturation process. The television accommodation phase is thus placed in its fuller context as just one of the many accommodation phases associated with particular forms of external social stimuli. Communication of this type, however, is so basic to the human experience, and so broad, that it is likely that we are dealing with the most critical form of all. Essentially, it embraces the whole array of potential influences toward change.

The whole question of soaps has now attracted academic attention, even to the extent of some universities offering courses about them. The popularity of two "soaps" in the 1974 field work at Jackhead led to careful scrutiny of their cultural integration. The two soaps ardently viewed by the Jackhead Saulteaux in 1974 were "Edge of Night" and "Family Court". They were standard Canadian Broadcasting Corporation listings, originating in the United States. Both were serialized. Only "Edge of Night" remains in the listings in 1980. It would not seem possible that a more irrelevant set of experiences could be portrayed to the Jackhead Saulteaux than those comprising "Edge of Night". The writer has viewed this program with the people at Jackhead, and in his own living room in the city, both on numerous occasions. To most academics, it should not be an exaggeration to suggest that the experience of reviewing "soaps" is painful. Specialists in the art, however, have expressed this with more eloquence than the sociologist. James Thurber, in a series of articles in the New Yorker 26 years ago, produced a definition for radio soap operas that has not been noticeably damaged by time:

> "A SOAP OPERA is a kind of sandwich ... between thick slices of advertising spread 12 minutes of dialogue, add predicament, villainy and female suffering in equal measure, throw in a dash of nobility, sprinkle with tears, season with organ music, cover with a rich announcer sauce, and serve five times a week." (Barthel 1968:66)

On February 7, 1974, the Jackhead Saulteaux observed the following events in Edge of Night:

> A woman who is experiencing the menopause collapses after being told that she is spending too much time with her infant grandson. Her husband, the District Attorney,

> arrives to comfort her. She later goes for treatment to her son (father of this baby) who is a psychiatrist. Her husband, meanwhile, speaks with the young parents, and gets advice from his son-in-law that this is "an empty-nest syndrome", and that the grandmother needs more attention. Grandfather, however, is a very busy public official. Among other things, he has "set up" Ben Travis, an ex-crooked politician who the Governor is now planning to pardon and release from prison, where Travis has contracted a terminal illness. He plans to live with his daughter who is married to Adam, a young lawyer who is being backed by Mrs. Whitney, society scion, in an election for United States Senator. Mrs. Whitney is worried about the influence her protege's father-in-law might have on Adam's election. She calls in a young newspaper reporter who has been assigned to the "Travis case", and orders him not to print anything about Travis till after the election. He refuses and is later warmly supported by his young wife. Meanwhile Travis calls his daughter to his prison hospital bedside, and tells her to talk Adam out of running for Senator. He demands this as a deathbed agreement, explaining his own complete moral transformation (with the aid of a priest) and admonishing her that politics will break up her marriage (author's field notes 1973).

The inordinate gap between these kinds of experience, and the life of a small sub-Arctic Algonkian band poses a substantial problem. Perhaps some of the answers may actually be in all this agony, misfortune, and stress. A colleague who lived for a long time in rural Spain reported an apparently similar occurrence. In Spain, however, melancholic propensities, a real identification with agony, appear to have provided the basis for motivation. It is too soon to declare such a motivation for the Jackhead Saulteaux, but Algonkian ethnology would widely support the conclusion that humour in this cultural sphere centres upon the misfortunes of others. This helped explain one response that "Edge of Night" was "funny". Another specified that this story had ghosts in it. A fascination for supernaturalism is also culturally understandable, and could form a valid interpretational direction. The intensity of feeling conveyed by the actors through their many sighs, and pregnant pauses may form an outlet for the Saulteaux viewers who, by virtue, of their own highly repressive psycho-social conventions, cannot so express themselves. Thus, we may open up a broad psychological dimension to television use; a vicarious participation in aggressions profoundly suppressed in the Ojibwa psyche (Barnouw 1950:22, Hallowell 1955: 277, Hamer 1969: 228). While probably different in the degree of consciousness, delinquents in urban society are thought by Halloran (1970:65) to utilize aggressive and exciting programs in immoral ways. They did not discuss what they see on television as openly as do non-delinquents.

According to Hallowell (1955: 280-281), the customary psychological devices for expressing basic human aggression among the Saulteaux were sorcery and gossip. As Christian influence proceeded to diminish sorcery, gossip is seen to have increased in scope. It is thus most interesting to observe that very large scale content studies of television in urban areas show that over 90 percent of the soap opera conversations (themselves virtually 100% of all content) are about persons who are absent at the time: in other words, gossip (Katzman 1972: 211). Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961: 59) in their earlier studies showed chief utilization of television by children to center upon social purposes, especially for the development of topics of conversation and gossip.

The music, too, should not go unmentioned. The sombre wailing of the organ, keyed to the highly emotionalized elements of the program (and at times, to the ghosts) accelerate involvement.

Sally Davidson (1980) undertook an examination of Ojibwa ethnomusicology in reference to the background music of Edge of Night. She discovered a number of highly critical correlations which collectively support a hypothesis of subconscious motivation. Among these findings is the fact that the intensity, volume, pitch, and key of the television background music corresponds very closely to that of traditional Ojibwa dream songs. These dream songs are of supernatural origin, being initially experienced as a component of a person's vision - the appearance of his guardian spirit after long fasting and seclusion. A gradual increase of intensity characterizes the dream song as it accompanies the arrival of the spirit itself. This mode also characterizes the musical preparation for psychological stress points in the dialogue of "soaps". Historically speaking no facet of Ojibwa life is even remotely comparable in emotional intensity to the vision quest, and its perpetuation in sociologically altered structure can be anticipated for many Ojibwa populations.

Further cognitive potential concerns the relatively complex kin structure and nomenclature. This constitutes a profound expansion of the corresponding consciousness of Western, urban lifeways. It might well provide the basis for intellectual manipulations and social reasonings encouraged by the character relationships in soap operas.

True identification with the actors is extremely doubtful. There are hints that Edge of Night as a collective whole creates a mood. It would appear to be an amorphous fantasy in which only a few of the events are consciously appreciated. People rarely seem able to recount events. In many cases, a nearly complete lack of understanding is expressed or admitted. Following from this, explanations of the program's attraction are not possible except in an exceedingly fragmented manner as being "funny", or because of the "ghosts". There was from the start a strong prospect of non-conscious motivations, and the video-tape investigations reported elsewhere in this volume by Hanks and Granzberg (1980) form one of the resulting analytical procedures.

Were it not for the seeming non-conscious dimension in the reception of Edge of Night, another hypothesis might be advanced. This program, like all "soaps", conveys a very wide range of conventions, mores, pat solutions to many problems from the smallest to the mightiest. It may then form a kind of poor, trite ethnography, operating in reverse, and emphasizing the moral and philosophic.

As a further indication of non-conscious involvement in Edge of Night, the program which immediately followed it in 1974, Family Court, elicited responses which were openly conscious, identificatory, and even participatory. In this program, viewers remembered all details and could recount them with typical Ojibwa mnemonic capability.* They also took sides in disputes, and expressed criticisms like -- "There's something wrong with that court story; The R.C.M.P. are never there."**

---

* Mnemonic capability is much higher among non-acculturated societies, since they are not dependent upon a system of writing. Saulteaux memory is often astonishing (Steinbring 1965:3).

** In Canada, the R.C.M.P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) are always official participants in court hearings.

While Family Court was never rated "No.1", many watched it because it followed their favourite program. In this regard it is again significant that the "favourite" program elicited virtually no conscious response, while a third or fourth choice elicited very substantial conscious response. Responses to Family Court were at least partly caused by a high degree of identification. The problems faced by actors, and even to some extent the behaviours, mannerisms and colloquial expressions, etc. were understood. Some viewers had lived in the city, and had had exposure to the bureaucratic mysteries brought forth in the program: missed appointments because of overloads, getting lost in large buildings, confused ramblings on one-sided phone conversations, the constant anxiety of meeting time schedules, and the "old run-around". The subject matter was also not obscure to many: abandoned children, broken marriages, youthful crimes, alcoholism, school difficulties, mental deficiency, insanity, unwed mothers, hospitals, etc., etc. Those who had not directly experienced these problems knew persons who had, usually within the family. To some, Family Court may actually have been a preceptive device. They were thinking about what they saw on this program when they were to travel to the city because of some official matter. The implications here, relative to the formation and use of urban-inspired stereotypes, are, to say the least, very substantial.

The salient qualities of the soap opera, Edge of Night, have been shown to have ethnic alignments; the gossip, the background music, the maze-like attraction of the complex personal relationships. But this is only the start. Since television studies began in 1973, Edge of Night has increased in popularity. Algonkian populations on the east side of Lake Winnipeg were not greatly attracted to it in the mid-seventies, and even the Norway House populations were not seen to express a strong inclination toward it at that time. Now, it receives strong responses in all areas of the study.The 1979 survey by C. Hanks at Jackhead showed that Edge of Night was by far the most popular with twenty-six out of fifty first choices.

Three's Company came second with only five out of fifty, and Hawaii Five-O was third with four out of fifty. The rest were insignificantly scattered. If ethnic factors are basic in the use of Edge of Night, the non-material espects of acculturation may not be proceeding as rapidly as we might think. On the other hand, perhaps this culturally contrasting television experience may be coming, through acculturation, to synchronize with a more advanced general state of Algonkian change (mainly Westernization). And, there is one more consideration. Edge of Night is not static either. Sexuality and violence have been slowly but surely added to the soap menu, until they now have become common themes - albeit still rather passively represented.

In order to further understand the role of "soaps", the videotape study was commenced in 1978 by C. Hanks. The study consisted of the selection of one episode of Edge of Night, to be played before as many Jackhead families as possible, with an identical "control" operation in a rural White community. A series of questions was formulated from the episode in such a way as to elicit insights into culturally contrasting thought and behaviour. For example, attitudes toward the dead are known to be fundamentally different. Thus, several questions were inserted to draw responses to a funeral which dominated much of the episode. As expected, Ojibwa fear of the dead prompted negative responses to questions dealing with a young woman's presence alone with her father's corpse. The rural White population found this entirely acceptable. The Ojibwa principle of "non-interference" was also found operative in responses dealing with the pros and cons of interceding in a death struggle. Jackheaders were less likely to become involved than Whites. This was predictable in the light of Granzberg's tests for interference across the four communities of the overall study. In an open-ended question, "A fight is starting - what will you do?", among the Western control group 88% would try to stop it. At Jackhead only 25% would do so, the lowest percentage for all groups. Hallowell's classical studies of Saulteaux psychology revealed a massive subcurrent of suspicion centered upon sorcery and counter-sorcery - virtually affecting all of social experience in some way. To test for differences in this type of perception, questions were asked about whether there was "anything else behind" the death of a man in the episode. Again, a contrast emerged, showing that Jackheaders were more likely to suspect deeper issues in the death than the control group. This was strengthened by similar responses (though vague) to the open-ended question "What or who do you think is behind all the trouble on Edge of Night"? The remaining element critical to the Algonkian idiom relates to the psychology of child rearing. Saulteaux are highly permissive and indulgent toward youngsters. Thus, at Jackhead most families openly stated in the 1974 interviews, and again in 1979 that their children (of all ages) could watch anything they wished. The rural-White control expressed notions of restraint, but since Edge of Night is an afternoon "soap", children would not normally watch it anyway, at least during the school term (when the study took place).

In light of the fact that child rearing is so fundamental to all of the major cultural processes, it is essential to reflect upon its connection to television use and the attendant implications of change. Earlier reports indicated the enormity of conflict brought on by violence and sexuality now commonly consumed by the immature at Jackhead. Restraints would violate both spiritual and social values, while it was growing evident that consumption of television violence and sexuality were leading to unacceptable behaviour among the young.

> Jackhead informant (mother), "There is too much violence and discrimination on television, as children imitate and start quarrelling with

> each other" (by "discrimination", this informant means "putting another person down").

Again Granzberg's tests become significant. He makes the statement that "A boy has a knife", and then asks what will he do with it? An incredible 55% of the Jackhead children responded that he would stab somebody with it. This was nearly three times as many aggression responses than the next lower community in the test. A Winnipeg control group had a 7% response on this. The hypothesis raised in the 1975 report centered upon the "cultural integrity" of families. Those whose identity was intact were capable of introducing restraint, and an oblique measure of this integrity was a simple "traditionality" (capacity for value-defense) as partly seen through Pentecostal affiliation and strong involvement in Edge of Night. From 1969 to 1975 there was a steady growth in social disorder and violence at Jackhead. 1975 seemed to be a kind of threshold whereat, in the matter of television consumption, control would be possible for those whose identity was successfully maintained. While the sample is incomplete, a test of controls (Tables 4 and 6) dealt with the time factor in television acquisition and the implementation of controls. The test was conducted in 1974 at a time when no first sets had yet been purchased in that calendar year (all but three had sets anyway). There was a strong tendency among those imposing controls to have sets a long time. On the other hand, those not imposing controls of any kind were far more numerous, and included a fairly high percentage (45%) who had gotten sets in 1969, the very first year. The survey also indicated that "strong" Pentecostals were the last to acquire sets, and that half of these imposed controls. Moreover, as the 1975 report indicated, 25% of those identifying themselves as Anglicans had controls (Table 4). Since no services had taken place in the Anglican Church for more than a year and the structure had been severely vandalized, data on affiliation came under scrutiny. It developed that most "Anglicans" were at least occasionally attending Pentecostal services. Some had a substantial involvement in

Pentecostal, and tended to highlight a simple tradition of always expressing an Anglican affiliation when asked. The same would appear to hold for other churches, like the United, in other communities where those churches had been either the first established or had come to be the most active. This, in future, more penetrating inquiries must be initiated on the point of church affiliation if it is to be used in connection with the socio-cultural dynamics behind television consumption.

By 1975, violence had accelerated in Jackhead with rampant vandalism, shootings, fights, and public mischief. Hallowell has indicated, from long term residential research among the Berens River Saulteaux (to whom the Jackhead families are directly related), that the Ojibwa personality is one of inordinate passivity. The traditional means for expressing psychological aggression were largely confined to sorcery and gossip (Hallowell 1967: 272). As Christian missionizing and other Western influences caused shamanism to diminish, gossip came to take on a more and more important role. In some situations, alcohol may have come to serve nearly equally. Gossip is a form of social manipulation, however, and does not involve raw aggression. For that matter, neither did sorcery. Alcohol does involve raw aggression, and a very substantial record of such behaviour can be obtained at Jackhead. Some violence too, is malicious, object-directed, and not alcohol related. The latter would appear to be associated with younger people, but there are also incidents which are attributed to adults.

In December of 1975, the Provincial Government's forestry cabin north of Dallas (37 miles south of Jackhead) was burned to the ground. Several informants indicate that this was a case of arson (nobody was living in it, there were 2 feet of snow all around it, and the fire started at night). Rumors attribute this act to young men who seem to have a reputation for violent acts.

The parents have, it is said, at times covered for the sons, but have also expressed deep depression over their lack of control. The people involved are, or have been, very active in the Pentecostal Church and would appear to be of traditional persuasion. The arson could be viewed as anti-White then, if it were not for the fact that the same "boys" are alleged to have fired a high powered rifle through the Pentecostal Church on New Year's Eve 1974. This incident took place when the lights were on, but no one was in the church. An informant remarked that he would normally have been seated in the direct path of the bullets.

All of the windows of the Anglican Church were broken in the spring of 1974. The pump hoses for the fishing station were severed with a knife. The fishing association involves all three church groups and was the main source of earned money income for many large families during 1974. The pumps are essential for maintaining legal standards, and fish could not be processed efficiently without them. Several cars which were mechanically functional were wrecked by rocks during the summer of 1974. The windows and headlights were smashed and hoods bent, as well as some dismantling. Children (9-10 year range) were seen doing this in one case, but another is claimed by some to be the work of the same group alleged to be associated with the shooting and arson incidents. In this case, a possible police informant (who is said to have witnessed a shooting incident) had hidden his car in fear of retaliation. It was found and wrecked.

During a drunken brawl, one man shot another in the arm. The victim was hospitalized for several weeks during the summer of 1974. A man at a neighbouring reserve was acquitted of charges laid in connection with his shooting a Jackhead man who broke his front door in at 4:00 a.m. The Jackhead man was reported to have been drinking heavily. Over the same period, several shooting incidents (at least one fatal) occurred at neighbouring reserves among families related to those at Jackhead. In one case a Jackhead man was murdered in front of the beer hall at Hodgson (55 miles south of Jackhead). Two men beat him to death with a car jack as he emerged with some beer. This happened in full view of his wife who was waiting in the car a few feet away. There had been an argument in the beer hall earlier. On the same weekend, a car travelling at a fast rate completely severed a gas pump just across the street. The speeding car was driven by Native persons who had been drinking. Detailed press coverage was given to many of the court cases arising from these events.

Middle-aged and elderly people at Jackhead have expressed great fear that the irresponsible use of cars on their main road will soon lead to deaths. Youths and young adults travel at great speed down this loose gravel road. They are often drinking at the time. The R.C.M.P., when possible, arrest such persons and take away the licenses. Impaired drivers for several years, had been listed in the newspapers. Addresses were given, so lists could in those years be checked for reserve residents.* Many Jackhead drivers have lost their licenses, at least temporarily. This has led to a profitable vocation for moderate or non-drinkers. A chauffeur's license permits one to drive another's car. The "fees" for this have come to be quite high. It is now common practice for a "delicensed" person to hire a driver who can "switch" in case the RCMP show up. Recently one of these unlicensed drivers was relieved by his friends of a loaded** gun he had in the car since the "chauffeur" and other passengers felt that he might shoot someone. On one occasion, in 1977, this did happen, resulting in the death of a teenage son of a Jackhead councillor.

---

*This practice has been halted because it was felt to be discriminatory.

**Since moose and other game may be spotted on the roads, guns carried in cars are always loaded.

During the period here considered, one forced entry to the band store took place. The glass and latch of the main door were broken and a large amount of tobacco and sweets taken. The culprits were found, all males under age 10. One informant later remonstrated with the lads saying that they had been "stupid" to take only tobacco and sweets, and further, to have tried to hide the things together. In other words, no actual guilt for the offense itself was proclaimed. The same informant, on another occasion, openly described (as a "good deal") his purchase of a probably stolen gun in new condition.

Two brutal beatings of older men by several younger men are known to have occurred during the 1974-75 note period. One was the Chief, the other an elderly councillor. Community factionalism, apparently apart from the Church, was the only explanation. The incidents were covert. Measures were taken to prevent further occurrences. The Chief, for example, travelled with a brother to events at which the same trouble might develop. Drinking was not involved in the case of the Chief, but it was in the case of the old councillor.

In 1978 and 1979, a rash of shootings developed on the reserve. Most of these were attributed to only a few individuals and consisted mainly of shotgun blasts through houses and outhouses. It became common to hear older people talk of going away from the reserve. Perhaps the most well-known case of violence occurred in February 1979, when the Chief himself was arrested for murder, (and convicted of manslaughter in the shooting death of an 8-year old boy). This incident followed a pattern long established at Jackhead. Intense family rivalries and factionalism often had come to a boil at drinking parties, and, over the past three years had frequently culminated in the use of arms. In this case the Chief was severely beaten by two men at a party. He returned home, and, while inside the two men began striking his truck with hockey sticks, breaking windows and denting it. The Chief grabbed a gun and went after them.

They fled to a house for refuge. The Chief proceeded to fire into that building, fortunately not injuring anyone. The Chief's wife succeeded in bringing him back to his own house, during which time his two assailants escaped from the house he had shot at. A few minutes later, the owners of this house themselves decided to flee. The father, mother and one child got into the cab of their pickup truck, and an eight-year old boy got into the open box and sat on a snowmobile there. The Chief, thinking that these were his assailants escaping from the house, again took up his gun and fired randomly at the truck from his house. The shot hit the youngster in the neck and he died from loss of blood during the immediate 45-minute trip to the hospital. After many light sentences for similar incidents by other offenders, the Chief went to prison for 2½ years. This was despite a petition signed by practically all the members of the band (including the parents of the dead child) that he be returned to his community.

In 1980, the community continues to be violent, with older families talking frequently of moving away, and a few of the middle-age families actually doing so. Basic to much of the violence is alcohol behaviour, and this is tied to cars. It is necessary to transport alcohol from Hodgson 65 miles away. While it is illegal to bring alcohol on to the reserve, very little can be done to stop it. The police are 75 miles away, and there is no local constable.

In the overview, it would be difficult to pin community violence on television when alcohol also entered with the road. But, an examination of the prime variables might lead to the view that television be given the edge. Alcohol has been with all Native populations since the Fur Trade, and for Jackheaders probably around 150 years. The road in 1959 brought an instantly continuous supply, ten years before television. There has been no significant change in alcohol availability. There is at the same time a demonstrable graduality in the acquisition and consumption of television during the last decade. Acquisition has been staggered and only recently complete. Experience from both the hardware and perceptional angles has also been halting and experimental. Good reception can be fixed only as recently as 1977 with the local microwave tower. Thus, violence has tended to accelerate in an apparently direct correspondence with television experience. Road connection and alcohol availability have not changed over the same period of time.

While these "gross truths" do not satisfy, by themselves, the scientific demands for evidence, significant findings on aggression over this period have been made in the overall study. Granzberg (elsewhere in this volume) has included among his comparative investigations Jackhead data on empirically designed tests. These tests measured "concreteness", "dependency", "aggression", and "anxiety". Jackhead scored highest in both aggression and anxiety among four communities. The very high number of responses (thousands) in this large scale investigation suggests that the conclusions are significant.

TABLE 9

Granzberg's Tests of Psychological Factors in a Four-Community Acculturation Scale

MODELS

	Concreteness	Dependency	Independency	Aggression	Anxiety
Oxford House	(85)	(194)	(452)	(135)	(42)
Norway House	(37)	(272)	(370)	(169)	(61)
Jackhead	(108)	(177)	(418)	(171)	(79)
Winnipeg	(21)	(258)	(314)	(132)	(28)

It is well worth noting too, that, as violence tends to increase in the Jackhead community in apparent association with growth in television experience, violence in television content is increasing at the same time. It may also be added that vandalism, a substantial part of violent behaviour at Jackhead, is associated with youngsters. This includes "break and enter", and other malicious acts such as turning off the fuel supply for the generating station. This latter act led to a loss of power on a very hot day and the thawing of frozen supplies in family freezers.

Some analysts of the television phenomenon have asserted that violent behaviour may be moderated by its persistent experience in the "television state". This idea might be coupled with that of McAndrew and Egerton (1960) which has it that alcohol is "time out". *Television may be "time out"*, and the experience in it may exhaust, to some degree, the psychic energies otherwise motivational in violent behaviour. This, of course, would be quite apart from the many other functions it presumably serves. And, the proof of it would require long term observation and highly complex forms of analysis. Needless to say, it may *not* be true.

There is at Jackhead (and probably at many other Native communities) a coincidence of highly strategic historical factors, some of them mentioned above. In overview this coincidence involves a base-state of essential passivity. To this aboriginal phase were introduced Christian missionizing and alcohol. The decline of Native religious experience led to elaborations of gossip and acceleration in alcohol adoption. There is ample evidence for the historical association between raw aggression and alcohol, whether one accepts or rejects the "excuse for bad behaviour" hypothesis of McAndrew and Egerton. For most interior Algonkian communities the acculturation surrounding these factors was very gradual. In recent decades, many communities have experienced a renewed abruptness in strategic acculturational factors. This is brought on by two events, the introduction of roads (and cars), and the introduction of hydro-electric power. At Jackhead, raw aggression was probably at a minimum prior to the introduction of a road. Alcohol supply was very limited until then. Urban contact, and a growing involvement in money-centered economy grew with roads. At Jackhead, money welfare programs grew rapidly with increased road traffic. This led immediately to higher purchasing power for alcohol. The next major event was the provision of electricity. With it came continuous (as opposed to controlled) radio use, and television. It is clear that raw aggression has increased greatly as television has been introduced and adopted. This does not, in itself, prove causality, however, since urban influences, combined with church-related factionalism may have produced tensions, the resolution of which is neatly explained away by alcohol just as McAndrew and Egerton claim for earlier, historic phases elsewhere. It remains to be found out whether the "dream state", and intellectual absorptions created through television function to resolve tensions of the kind being experienced. These tensions are more than just simply psychological. They are basically fused with both social and cultural factors, and very possibly physical factors as well. In 1980, most of the evidence points to television as the prime factor in growing aggression at Jackhead.

Major frustrations at either the group or individual levels are sometimes seen to cause violence. The Jackhead community did experience such a major frustration in 1974. The newly-formed Jackhead fishing station was a remarkable success when it was initiated in the spring. The Chief directed its organization and there was a high degree of co-operation among many of the more responsible and mature Jackhead men. They built an ice house, "made ice", and erected an excellent processing station. The men had commercial fishing experience, and the summer catches were good. Several filled their quotas, with the Chief himself getting the largest poundage. A store was set up, and the early summer fishing saw many family bills paid up, and some rigs (boats, motors, and nets) clear. Soon after the beginning of the even more lucrative fall fishing season, however, disaster hit. Employees of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Board of Manitoba declared a strike at the Selkirk processing plant. This literally crippled the small commercial fishermen of the Province. Jackhead was instantly affected. Fish piled up until storage was exhausted, and still no chance to send it on to the processing plant. The men were forced to stop fishing. The strike lingered on until the acceptable time limits of storage at Jackhead were exceeded. The fall catch was trucked to two large disposal areas outside the community. By this time, the fishermen had large debts at the band store. Ultimately, the store was forced to close with a reported $55,000 on the books. An advisor from the Federal Government is said to have suggested the possibility that boats and motors might be confiscated. This did not happen. There can be no doubt that the effect of the fall fishing failure was profound at Jackhead. Many families and the band store itself were dependent upon it. The failure was especially disastrous in the light of the summer success. And, it was totally beyond the control of efficiently organized men who knew well what they were doing and who shared in an excellent spirit of group co-operation. It was the ultimate in deflation for persons who could rightly have expected the opposite. How far the influences of this could have proceeded into the psychological and social spheres will probably never be known. If, however, these kinds of things can be the indirect cause of violence, then the Jackhead situation would form an example of unusually high potential.

A source of stress at Jackhead which has become more noticeable in recent years is the church-related factionalism. There are Anglican, Catholic and Pentecostal churches operating at Jackhead. The Catholic church is very small, the Anglican is nominally the largest, and Pentecostal is between the other two in size, (probably closer to the Anglican than the Catholic). Pentecostal affiliation is not always formal. Persons who state their affiliation to be Anglican may actually attend Pentecostal services more often than they do the Anglican. While difficult to support with figures, it seems that there is a general trend (regionally as well as locally) toward Pentecostal. One reason for this may involve Native identity. Pentecostal preachers are almost invariably of Native background. At Jackhead, they are lay persons from the band itself. Anglican preachers are almost always White, as are the Catholic clergy. Pentecostal, by its belief in a spiritual visitation as a profound turning point in one's life, perfectly satisfies the indigenous concept of the vision quest. The strength of Pentecostal has grown at Jackhead to the point where stress has arisen over the "official" cemetery plot. This lies on the Anglican church grounds. Each spring there is a community clean-up of the cemetery. In 1975 Pentecostals started refusing to participate in this, saying that they should have their own cemetery. Added to this argument was the reminder that "Pentecostals are Indians". The people are generally disturbed over church factionalism, even to the point that one man recited a dream in which his name was called to go about tearing down the signs on churches. He states that "God did not make Anglicans, or Catholics, or Pentecostals. He made Indians". Some even cite scriptures to support this.

It is difficult to say that the incidents of violence involving the Anglican and Pentecostal church buildings are the result of factional disputes. The fact that the most strongly alleged perpetrators of the Pentecostal incident were themselves Pentecostal suggests that this is a doubtful hypothesis. The "dual" membership of many persons would also detract from it.

Television Dislikes

While there are no statistics on the matter, a great many expressions of dislike for various television programs and commercials have been received over the past 5 years. The discontinuity in concentration as caused by commercials, especially for those using television as a means of learning English is often cited as a major annoyance. An interesting example of the connection between adult learning from television, and commercials was brought out by a former chief. He openly discussed the educative value of television to himself (he had Grade 4). He observed, however, that "just when you start to understand something, a commercial comes along". In this he was referring to both understanding particular English usages, and some aspect of urban culture. He went on to say that he often got frustrated at times like this and would turn the set off.

No program in Jackhead television history was more abhorrent and repugnant than "90 Minutes Live"*, unless it would be its incredible (and almost identical) replacement, "Canada After Dark", starring Paul Soles**. The people at Jackhead persistently approached the field worker, asking him "to do something about that Peter Gzowski". Long distance telephone calls asking (even demanding) intercession in the abolition of the program were received at both the worker's home and office. Visits were made to the researcher's office, conveying the collective demands of several families. These actions must be viewed against the repressed and passive Saulteaux psychology, the principle of non-interference, and the great mass of studies reflecting their inordinate restraint It is of some value to reflect upon the deeper meanings of this.

The urbane pseudo-sophistication of these "talk shows" is, first of all, transparent to cultures whose close, small-group, family-based experience heightens social sophistication and interpersonal sensitivities. These cultures cut to the full reality of basic human and personal values in a continuously experienced (and used) complex of interrelationships. Urbane artificiality is instantly repugnant, and reflects a completely separate and external set of behavioural values formed within an entirely different cultural and social context. Probably all of the behaviour viewed in the "talk shows" would be seen as "insincere", mostly because it is intended to be "sincere" and not theatrical ("acting") as in "Edge of Night". Another, practical, matter in connection with the rejection of talk shows is revealed in January 1979 responses: "They are too hard to understand, too much talk".

A second reason for the Jackheader's rejection of this type of program is the harshly added fact that it is effectively forced upon them. Many had come to enjoy the late movies, and their replacement by this offensively ethnocentric program was a coercive violation of self-determination. The Jackheaders had no opportunity to express themselves on the matter of programming. This leads us to the important collective desire of Jackheaders that they do eventually get some leverage in the selection of programs which may, more dramatically than in the city, alter their social, moral, and psychological lives. While they characteristically have difficulty in imposing restraints upon children, it may well be that some selective authority itself would ameliorate to a degree the most obviously destructive elements. Very probably the urban dweller himself would appreciate the personal and social strengthening which would come from having some choice in the selection of critical influences upon life through television. Also, the Jackheaders' strong wish for Native programming would insure appropriate exposure and the strengthening of identity through Native language and news.

---

* Not even those with nudity, "raw" sex, or rivers of blood

** Very short-lived, as it too was utterly rejected by the Canadian people generally.

The program, for general purposes, was a carbon-copy of the American versions. In the light of Northern Ojibwa culture, and Jackhead life in particular, the program could be classed as an exaggeration of everything White, and everything urban. The general Canadian desire for this urbanity was not great either, and the program was finally stopped. It is most instructive, however, that this pandering promotion of an externally inspired phenomenon was rigidly defended and continued straight into the teeth of massive Canadian rejection. Urban populations had other channels to turn to, but many communities like that of Jackhead had no choice. They were totally dependent upon C.B.C. programming. This is still true of most of the North.

The experience with Peter Gzowski and Paul Soles points toward a possible non-political problem in programming. The incredible persistence by C.B.C. in the promotion of these programs to the general Canadian audience (quite apart from ethnic divisions) suggests the ardent application of sterotypes by a virtually impervious, closed group. At this time the C.B.C. is studying the prospects for Native programming. There are many pitfalls in the development of such programming, not the least of which are the need for true self-determination (not determination by an acculturated Native elite), and the clear capacity to suppress stereotypes generated and defended within an administrative sub-culture.

SUMMARY

The small and casual examination of television consumption in a Northern Ojibwa band has brought out themes of acculturation common to all mankind. And, at the specific level, a number of critical elements are seen to revolve around the maintenance of identity. Ojibwa psychology is characterized by non-aggression, and is, in fact, almost universally cited by social psychologists as a model for this. Television has abruptly provided a massive battery of observable aggression. There are indications that this may be altering Ojibwa behaviour. Violence to the point of community dysfunction and anomie has followed the introduction and growing experience with television, apparently independently of urban-connection through road extension and continuous alcohol supply.

Television has brought conflict between traditional values pertaining to child-rearing and observed effects of television upon the young. Since traditional values in this feature permissiveness and indulgence as agents in the development of normal Ojibwa adults, the violation of these values threatens the very core of Ojibwa life. The dilemma facing the Ojibwa in this becomes doubly anxious because it is felt to be forced.

Any violation of the concept of self-determination in any cross cultural setting promotes identity defense. Great variety attends these defenses, but violent behaviour is a common theme. At Jackhead it may be that the violence so commonly seen today may, in part be caused by frustration at the inability to control significant influences upon life. If television has indeed come to have such a basic impact, the ethnically offensive elements (like Peter Gzowski, sexually oriented commercials, and even perhaps golf) come to symbolize a lack of self-determination.

> Jackhead informant: "Some programs just don't turn us on, like baseball and swimming. They don't enthusiast us".

The installation of the micro-wave tower adjacent to the reserve may have resolved some of this since Jackheaders for the past two years have not been totally dependent upon the C.B.C. programming. This "captive audience" condition probably aggravated the responses to especially undesirable programs.

The overall portent of the Jackhead study at this time is a need to provide to them, as a Native population consuming an externally inspired set of influences, a means of controlling that reception. This should serve to reduce the frustrations deriving from unilateral decisions about content. Native programming offers some amelioration of this stress, but this will not change the majority of television content. Even if program content were altered radically, a highly significant array of especially offensive material would remain in the ever-more-frequent commercials. Disgust would be an inadequate word to describe reaction to feminine napkin commercials in a society which traditionally has exercised numerous taboos in connection with menstruation, even to include isolation. Granzberg (elsewhere in this volume) has noted the horror with which Norway House Cree reacted to explicit television portrayals of childbirth. This too was conditioned by profound fears, and taboos originating in antiquity. The competitive themes, and the acquisitiveness underlying much of the commercial broadcasting lead to confusion and diminished self-worth. Much of that pictured in commericals forms the epitome of extravagance to the average Jackheader. But to those sucked into the actual process of television-induced consumption, it can form the difference between a marginal existence and true poverty. Even now there are occasional indications that traditional themes on child care have prompted responses to child-directed commercials. More and more often, the expensive 10-speed bicycle is seen in the hands of children of very poor families, in an area where there are very few places to ride them. It remains to be seen if object association will tend to replace social orientation through toy commercials as has been asserted for urban groups by M. Goldberg of McGill University (1979). In fact, it remains for us now to embark on a far more exhaustive investigation to determine if, in fact, the whole catalog of tests now historically accrued for urban television may be applied, apart from the ethnic dimension, to Jackhead and all the other Sub-Arctic Native communities.

REFERENCES

Barnouw, Victor
1950 "Acculturation and Personality Among the Winconsin Chippewa", American Anthropologist Vol. 52, #4, part 2, Memoir 72.

Barry, H., M. Bacon and I. Child
1957 "A Cross-cultural Survey of Some Sex Differences In Socialization", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 55 pp. 327-33.

Barthel, J.
1968 "World Has Turned 3,200 Times and 8 Million People Keep Watching", New York Times Magazine, September 8, 1968 pp. 66-67.

Benedict, Ruth
1923 The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America, Memories of the American Anthropological Association, No. 29, Menasha, Wisconsin.

Davidson, Sally
1980 "Saulteaux Ethnomusicology and the Background Music of Television Soap Operas: A Cognitive Study of Television Adoption in a Manitoba Reserve", Preliminary Report on the Adoption of TV by Native Communities in the Canadian North: A Comparative Study by J. Hamer et al. Appendix II, pp. 70-87, Winnipeg, University of Winnipeg.

Densmore, Frances
1929 Chippewa Customs, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 86, Washington, D.C.

Dunning, R.W.
1959 Social & Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa, University of Toronto Press.

Goldberg, M.
1979 "TV Ads Creating Family Tensions", Winnipeg Free Press, March 19, 1979. p.12.

Granzberg, G., J. Hamer & J. Steinbring
1977 "New Magic for Old: TV in Cree Culture" in Journal of Communications, Vol. 27:4.

Halloran, James (Editor)
1970 The Effects of T.V., Panther Modern Books, London.

Hallowell, A. I.
1936
"The Passing of the Midewiwin in the Lake Winnipeg Region", *America Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 32-51,Menasha.

1942
The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society, Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Association, Vol. 2 University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

1955
Culture and Experience, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelpha.

1967
Culture and Experience, New York, Schocken Edition.

Hamer, John
1969
"Guardian Spirits, Alcohol and Cultural Defence Mechanisms", *Anthropologica*, N.S. Vol. XI, No. 2.

Hamer, John and Jack Steinbring et. al.
1979
Preliminary Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North. Winnipeg, Univ. of Wpg.

Hanks, Christopher
1979
"Edge of Night in Native and Non-Native Societies"; A Pilot Study of the Use of Video Tape to Elicit Cross-Cultural Data on the Perception and Meaning of Television" in Steinbring, Granzberg et. al. *The Impact and Meaning of Television among Native Communities in Northern Manitoba*, Winnipeg, University of Winnipeg.

Hedlin-Menzies and assoc.
1969
An Evaluation of the Opportunities for Economic Development on the Jackhead Indian Reserve, Winnipeg.

Hilger, Sister Inez
1951
Chippewa Child Life and its Cultural Background. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 146, Washington D.C.

Hippler, Arthur E.
1973
"The Athabascans of Interior Alaska: A Culture and Personality Perspective", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 75, No. 5, pp. 1529-1541.

Hoffman, W. R.
1891
The Medewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibway, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Wash. D.C.

Jennings, Jesse D.
1974
Prehistory of North American, Toronto, McGraw-Hill.

Katzman, Natan 1972	"Television Soap Operas: What's Been Going On Anyway?", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer.
Landes, Ruth 1938	*The Ojibwa Woman*, Columbia University Press, New York.
1966	"The Ojibwa of Canada", in Mead, Margaret (Edit.) *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples*, Boston, Beacon Press.
1968	*Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
MacAndrew, C. and R. B. Edgerton 1969	*Drunken Compartment*, Chicago, Aldine.
McDonnell, Kilian 1976	*Charismatic Renewal and the Churches*, New York, Seabury Press.
Morris, Alexander 1880	*The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba*, Coles Reprint 1971.
Noble, W. C. 1968	"Vision Pits; Cairns and Petroglyphs at Rock Lake, Algonquin Provincial Park, Ontario." *The Ontario Archeological Society*, Public. #2, pp. 46-64.
Parker, Seymour 1960	"The Witiko Psychosis in the Context of Ojibwa Personality and Culture", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 62, pp. 603-623.
Rogers, E.S. 1960	*The Round Lake Ojibwa*, Royal Ontario Museum.
Schramm, Wilbur, J. Lyle and E. Parker 1961	*Television in the Lives of our Children*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
Steinbring, Jack 1965	*Environmental Knowledge Among the Ojibwa Indians*, Natural History Society of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
1971	"Accultural Phenomena among the Lake Winnipeg Ojibwa of Canada", Proceedings of the 38th International Congress of Americanists, pp. 179-188, Munich, Germany.

Steinbring, Jack (continued)
1975
Second Report on the Adoption of T.V. by Native Communities in the Canadian North: A Comparative Study, Part III, Winnipeg.

Wolfart, H. C.
1973
"Boundary Maintenance in Algonquian: A Linguistic Study of Island Lake, Manitoba", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 75, No. 5.

Wright, James V.
1972
The Shield Archaic. Publications in Archaeology #3, Ottawa, National Museums of Canada.

CHAPTER 8

TELEVISION AND THE IMPACT OF THE EURO-CANADIAN ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY UPON CREE ENCULTURATION

by

Christopher Hanks

TELEVISION AND THE IMPACT OF THE EURO-CANADIAN ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY UPON CREE ENCULTURATION

The historic settlement of Cree can be traced directly to the establishment of a Hudson Bay Company post in 1798 located on the present village site. Initially the settlement was not intended as a trading post, but rather as a supply depot for maintaining the Hudson Bay Company (here after known as HBC) Athabaska trade (Hanks N.D.p.34). According to William Sinclair, the first factor at Cree 2* at the time the post was established, the region had long since been trapped out by "Home Guard Cree"** from York Factory. As a result, Sinclair notes that although there were few Indians living in the region when the post was established, it was ideally suited for the purpose of supplying the inland trade (PAM.HBC B.239/b/66,fo.107). Therefore the Cree 2 Band is the result of the historic interaction between the fur trade and Native groups, and was not an aboriginal phenomenon.

After the post's establishment however, Natives, many of whom were "home Guard" Cree from York Factory, began to settle near the post to trade and seasonally work on the freight brigades plying the Hayes River between York Factory and Lake Winnipeg. In 1823 there were 14 families trading at Cree 2 (PAM.HBC A.B93/2/1, fo. 2d) and by 1838 that number had increased to 22 extended families (PAM.HBC. A.,B 239/2/10 fo). Thus, after the post was established, Natives moved into the region and established a local trade with the HBC.

The Natives who initially "settled" at Cree 2 were predominately Cree from near the coast of Hudson Bay, and Northwest toward the Nelson River drainage (Hanks N.D. p.30). Despite the expansion of

---

* Cree 2 is used to refer to the Oxford House Band.

** "Home Guard" Cree - were Cree who live along the coast of Hudson Bay and on the Hudson Bay Lowlands near the major HBC trading factories (e.g. York Factory). Because of their close proximity to the factories, they were employed as hunters and boatmen by the HBC.

the Ojibwa to the northwest from the Great Lakes basin and the Lake of the Woods, they did not form a segment of the original Cree 2 population. By 1827, the Ojibwa had penetrated as far north as Manitou Lake 60 miles southeast of Cree 2. Traders in the district at the time noted that it was necessary to maintain two posts in the region so close together because the Ojibwa at Manitou Lake and the Cree at Cree 2 showed ". . . an untolerable aversion. . ." toward each other (Bishop, 1974, p.326). The original population at Cree 2 consisted of Swampy Cree and Scot fur traders in the employ of the HBC.

Because the Hayes River was the major route from the coast of Hudson's Bay, west onto the great plains and north toward the Athabaska, there was a constant and intense social interaction between the Cree and HBC traders. As a result of frequent intermarriage, there developed between the Cree, the Scot and the mixed bloods of Cree and Scottish background, close social bonds which frequently excluded Metis (French-Indian mixed bloods) and French Canadian voyageurs (Hanks, N.D. , p.54). Although many of the Scottish "gentlemen" took country wives,* close social relations appear more frequently between common men (laborers, boatmen, craftsmen and Natives) than the former who were the chief traders and factors and socially separated themselves from the commoners and the Natives. The unions between common men and Native women led to the development of a Cree-Scottish population, with strong social ties to the HBC. Such families worked for the company generation after generation. For instance, the descendants of William Sinclair, the founder of the post, continued in the company's service at Cree 2 for 150 years. Another example of the survival of this practice can be found around the turn of the 20th century when a Cree-Scott named John Smith married a Scottish girl whose family was employed by the HBC. Their son Willy entered the service of the company at Cree 2 and through the 1930's (Mason, 1967, p.ii), 40's and early 50's he clerked at Cree 2. His son, although he no longer resides in Cree 2, still works for the company in a nearby community.

---

* Country wives is a term used to describe Native women taken as wives by fur traders during their stay in North America. The women were frequently abandoned when their husbands returned to Europe.

In European terms, the Cree-Scot mixed bloods formed the local 'economic elite'. The Cree-Scots were the group who most likely spoke both English and Cree, and because of the loyalty shown by the "Hudson Bay Company families" they had access to positions of responsibility within the Company generation after generation.

Despite the close economic affiliations the mixed bloods had with HBC, their lives did not differ significantly from the rest of the Native population. When men were not working for the company (depending upon the season of the year) they were either fishing, trapping or hunting. When the men were away, families stayed in the bush with their relatives (most frequently a woman's brother) until the men returned (Hanks, N.D. p.75). Thus after the first generation, when a Scottish employee of the HBC might bring his wife to live at the post with him (Hanks, N.D. p.79), the mixed population apparently blended with indigenous Cree life style. In spite of the closer ties many of the Cree-Scot families would have had with the HBC, they never held any exclusive position in terms of employment with the Company. Further, because a great deal of work with the HBC was seasonally oriented toward summer freighting, and was seldom full-time employment, the Cree-Scots like the Cree earned a large portion of their income from trapping and owed their subsistence base to hunting and fishing.

In 1886, for example, Cree 2 was under the command of Cuthbert Sinclair, the grandson of William Sinclair. According to Bill Campbell, a Scottish clerk at the post, Sinclair was recognized as:

> descended from a well-known Hudson's Bay Company family, his grandfather, William Sinclair, had established . . .(the) Post in 1798, and about 1811, had established a post on the Jack River, about six miles from where the present Norway House now stands (Campbell, N.D. p.11).

Also at the post at the time were:

> Norman McKenzie from the Island of Lewis, William Grieve, a halfbreed (Scotsman) for he talked broad Scotch, was the boatbuilder, James Hart, a Native of (Cree 2)... was the other servant (Campbell, N.D. p.12)

In addition to the full-time European and mixed blood staff, local Indians were employed during periods of open water as boat crews, at harvest time to bring fodder for the post's animals, in the winter as dog runners and traders in the camp trade and year around as part-time fishermen and boaters for the post. According to Campbell, the Natives that worked for the HBC in such seasonal capacities were ". . . paid in trade from the store, . . ."(N.D., p.11).

According to old informants at Cree 2, when the treaty was signed in 1909, those families which immediately signed the treaty placed considerable pressure on Cree-Scot families that did not at the moment have Europeans in their families to sign so that questions would not be asked about the background of other families in the community. The result was that after the treaty was signed, two communities existed in the proximity of Cree 2, one with status* the other without. The two groups were closely related by both marriage and custom, but legally one group was "Indian" and the other came to be known as "Metis" (despite arguments by Cree-Scots that Metis is a term which applies to the French-Indian mixed bloods).

---

* Status indicates a Native person who, according to the legal definition in the Indian Act, is considered to be an Indian.

The dual community at Cree 2 existed until approximately 1959, when a mining development at Thompson, Manitoba drew many men, both treaty and non treaty, out to work. The movement toward wage labour and away from the bush had begun in the early 1950's when men had gone out to seasonally work on the railroad (Hanks, I.P., p.3). However, the development of the townsite at Thompson gave families the chance to move permanently into the wage labour market. Ultimately many of the treaty Indians returned to Cree 2 to live, and gradually ceased seasonal work away from the community settling in the permanent village around the post at Cree 2. In contrast, the "Metis" never returned to live in the village. Therefore, the final split between the status and non-status people at Cree 2 came as a result of the collapse of the fur trade and the movement by the non-status people into the wage labour market away from Cree 2.

As a result of the departure of the "Metis" community from Cree 2, the population that remained was status Indians who were willing to attempt to maintain a more traditional life style in isolation from Euro-Canadian society. The split between the two groups was ultimately along economic lines, but it has deeper roots which are linked to the way the status and non-status people perceive their own identities. The status group chose to remain separate from the mainstream of Euro-Canadian life and not emigrate into the job market away from the reserve. On the other hand the non-status population of Cree 2 apparently realized that their future was not with their status relatives, but in the labour market of Euro-Canadian society at large.

Similarly when the York factory band broke up in 1955, two bands, the Gillam and York Landing bands, chose to live away from the traditional York Factory lands in regions where better opportunities existed for wage labour. The third fragment of the old York Factory band at Shamattawa chose ". . .a bush existence away from centres of European settlement"

(Turner, 1977, p.7). Today the Shamattawa people consider the Gillam and York Landing Bands to be more developed in "European" terms and to have rejected the bush life they have chosen (1977, p.7). Although, in the York Factory example, the split occurred among status Indians and at Cree 2 the break was between status and non-status people, the essential fissure between those willing to accept greater European influence upon their life and those who are not remains the essence of the division.

The Cree 2 band in and of itself is by no means unified in its attitude toward increased Euro-Canadian influence upon their life style. To understand many of the underlying motivations, it is necessary to look at the structures of what is today defined by the Indian Act and treaty five as the Cree 2 band of Indians.

It would be impossible to define the bands that formed around Cree 2 as an aboriginal phenomenon. First, despite considerable ambiguity concerning the local Native population, William Sinclair is quite clear that at the time Cree 2 was founded, the Native population in the area was too small to expect a significant local trade. Within 38 years however, the local Native population consisted of 22 families, geographically divided into two "bands" (PAM, HBC A B.93/2/1,fo.41). Preliminary analysis of the two historic groups indicates that they were a more or less stable number of extended families, at least loosely bound by sibling partnerships between brothers, which formed the basic economic or trapping unit. The role of brothers is also present in terms of providing economic security for sisters who were either widowed or needed temporary assistance because their husbands were absent due to fur trade-related travel or hunting trips. This system reflected fragments of the general patrilineal system, characteristic of eastern sub-Arctic Algonkian social systems (Rogers, 1965, p.24). In a fuller expression, it:

> . . . is that father and his brothers, their wives and their children, mother and her sisters, their husbands and their children, form a loose grouping convening from time to time for productive purposes. . .(ultimately) people who produce together form a common category (Turner, 1977, p.72).

What existed then is an ". . . unorganized, fluid, composite band . . ." (Service, 1962, p.86) based upon kin ties and economic necessity.

Although the two initial bands at Cree 2 are distinguishable because they were geographically separated, territorial ownership does not become apparent as a factor during the early 19th century. One group was located to the southwest of the trading post up the Hayes River toward the Nelson River drainage. The second group was located between Cree 2 and York Factory along the Hayes and Stupart River systems. Despite the loosely defined territories, there is no indication that any of the family groups within the bands had defined territories. In fact evidence suggests that a great deal of flexibility existed in terms of territorial usage. It is often apparent in the HBC records that post managers encouraged groups to hunt in one region or another for a variety of reasons ranging from attempts to preserve beaver, to establishing logistic support for the company's transportation systems (Hanks. N.D., p.95).

The social structure of Cree 2 is firmly based upon a system that has its origins in the early 19th century fur trade. The bands that lived near the post at Cree 2 used to make trips to the post in the spring, when furs were traded, and in the fall when debt was taken from the company for the winter hunt. These trips served to strengthen and renew social ties. The summer congregations became times when marriages were arranged, hunting partnerships established and feasts were held. Throughout the 19th century this:

> . . .collective would have become more and more permanently settled until it developed into a "community" . . .The band, then, comes to take its definition from the place where this occasional collective became permanently settled (Turner, 1977, p.12).

At Cree 2, the original two composite hunting groups eventually evolved into three separate "trapping bands". Band (A) occupied a territory to the southwest of the post encompassing the upper Hayes and its tributary systems. After the Wesleyan missionaries established their mission at Jackson Bay, 14 miles south of the post in 1850 (PAM, HBC. A, B./56/a/2.fo.5), this band began to camp near the mission during the summer and travelled to the post only to trade.

The other original band, (B), continued to trap north of the post along the lower Hayes and the Stupart Rivers to the edge of the Precambrian shield at its transition into the Hudson Bay lowlands.

The third group, (C), which geneologically is related to the other two bands, contains several family units with closer ties to the HBC. It is hard to tie a precise date to the origin of this unit, but its emergence is undoubtedly linked to the second half of the 19th century. Like the two previously mentioned groups, this band may also be defined by its territory which lies northwest of the post on the Semple and Bigstone River systems.

When the treaty was signed in 1909, it was the combination of three composite trapping bands which came to be known as the Cree 2 Band of Indians. Prior to the signing of the treaty, the mixed-blood population had been an integral part of the local band structure. The establishment of the status-non status distinction which occurred with the signing of the treaty created a hiatus between them which would eventually lead to the status people choosing to continue to remain on their homeland and the non-status peoples' departure for permanent wage labour in Euro-Canada. Therefore the remaining segments of the three composite bands are those groups now considered to be "treaty" who remain at Cree 2.

Identification of the fur trade band structure is still possible at Cree 2, because the residential pattern and the socio-religious structure of the village is still based around the interplay of these groups with each other. The Group (C) people, when they moved into the village, settled around the Hudson Bay store, Group (B) occupied the south end of the village, and Group (A), which was the last of the three to relocate in the modern village, shifted from Jackson Bay, 14 miles away, to the area between C and B. Within each of the "composite bands", the residential pattern illustrates the congregation of extended families in a bi-local arrangement that still strongly suggests the existence of matrilineal ties.

The village's tripartite arrangement is even more visible in the groups' adhesion to three sects of the Christian religion. Group B is predominately Roman Catholic, and has the Catholic mission in its end of the village. Group C is strongly United Church, and again the church is at (C's) end of the village. Finally, Group A, which formerly was represented by both sects, has within the last 10 years broken away and represents the nuclei of the Pentecostal or shaker movement in the village.

The move from the bush into a settled village, and the subsequent suppression of the traditional religious order by Christian influences has led into a decline in the system of charismatic leadership maintained in former times by successful hunters and shamen. In combination with the decline of traditional leadership has been the introduction by the Canadian government of a chief and council system of local government. Although initially the chief and council system was misunderstood by the Cree (Hanks, 1979, p.136), they have since manipulated it into a system which reflects co-residential pressure groups within the three composite bands that make up the village.

James G. E. Smith, anthropologist, has defined three essential factors that underlie kin-based factionalism among the southern Ojibwa, but without exception they are applicable to the Cree also. According to Smith: "the dilemma . . . has been that of establishing a balance between the welfare of the individual or the small cooperative kin group and the needs of the larger groups- bands villages, . . . three factors appear to underly the dilemma:

> (1) the fissionable nature of (Cree)social organization that leads to alliances and definition of interests in terms of the individual and the small kin group and, obversely, to the establishment of groups in opposition to one another; (2) a decision-making process based upon a deep but implicit belief in consensual democracy and a corollary ethos of egalitarianism; and (3) a pervasive distrust of all those who are not close kinsmen, coupled with a fear of those possessing "excessive" power (Smith, 1973, p.11)".

Although kin-based factional politics result in a confrontation model of political decision-making, in village affairs they enable a long-term power balance to be maintained between the various kin-oriented special interests groups. The effect of such a long-term balance of power between factions is that during times of rapid social change, traditional values are always held in juxtaposition to social innovation and the ensuing rejection, acceptance or compromise means that a new balance must be established between the various kin groups. Because of complexities inherent within a system based upon the balancing of multiple factions, there exists a large pool of potential leaders, representing different alignments of the system. The resultant fluidity allows enormous adaptability within an organization faced with constant externally-stimulated change.

"Atomistic" societies like the Cree place great emphasis upon

> . . . individualized freedom and freedom from cultural restraints; reserve interpersonal relations; lack large

> scale organization; weak in effectual leadership and social relations marked by strain, contention or invidiousness (Smith, 1973, p.14).

Social integration beyond the family is most frequently achieved through ceremony and ritual that enhances the community welfare (Eggan, 1950, p.117). Though the village of Cree 2 is today "Christian", the Pentecostal sect has successfully overlaid the concept of Jesus as a saviour spirit coupled with the symbolic rebirth of baptism in contrast to traditional guardian spirits and the "initiatory death" and resurrection that consecrates a shaman (Eliade, 1964, p.76). Further the traditional emotional restraint and fear of nonkinsmen holding excessive supernatural power has been partially alleviated by sanctioned hysterical testimonies (when people frequently began to speak in tongues) given to receive forgiveness from Jesus and to pray for Jesus to save one's enemies. The Pentecostals represent what anthropologist Fred Eggan calls a " . . mechanism for insuring stability . ."(1950,p.117). Jesus, by taking on the sins of the repenter, has negated the obligation incurred by the sinner for God having given him or her a new life. Jesus also offers an alternative to the traditional reprisal-oriented "witchcraft" which was formerly used to symbolically restrain balance between alienated individuals and groups.

Diachronically, Pentecostalism is part of a blend of traditional Cree beliefs and Christianity which seem to have begun in the 1820's when Red River colony freighters created mass hysteria among the Indian at the post by spreading rumours of specters having been seen at Red River predicting the end of the world (PAM, HBC, A.B. 156/a/11, fo.181). Though charismatic Pentecostal sects are widespread throughout the Christian world and despite its introduction by Euro-Canadian missionaries, it has become a grass roots, locally controlled and interpreted form of Christianity. Not so differently from the first messianic movement in the 1820's, the anticipation of an imminent second coming and the subsequent lifting of Native believers to the Kingdom of Heaven is a persistent theme of Cree 2 Pentecostal preaching. Through the interpretation of signs, such as the alignment of planets in the 1980's, Native Pentecostals predict the second coming in terms of, not an event in the unforseeable future, or even in terms of decades, but rather of sometime in the early 1980's. Thus Pentecostalism offers an immediate solution to Native problems, salvation in the Kingdom of Heaven. Pentecostal influence in Cree 2 began in the late 1960's when a White missionary and several young Cree canoed into the community and began to preach. Despite initial rejection, the movement has been gaining ground among residents of the central region of the village and their relatives. In terms of historic social organization within the village, Pentecostal renewal has been most influential among members of the old trapping band (A). It would be incorrect to limit it in scope to the residential units within the central village area, however, as there are adherents throughout the entire village. In fact, more than either the United Church or the Roman Catholic Church, the charismatics have cut across social boundaries co-ordinating a new social order that overlaps all other social groups. In this way the movement provides a ritual integration for the entire community through events such as tent revivals, faith healing, and social sanctioning of alcohol use through the provision of alternative religiously-oriented behaviour.

Functionally, the charismatic movement provides a structure by which individuals wishing to undergo a major change in identity can find support within a peer context. Conversely, because converts are required to make a drastic and outwardly visible break with their former lives by rejecting secular activities such as bingo, dancing, fiddling, movies and television, a fissure often forms between those people and their friends and relatives who have not undergone the "rebirth". Therefore, although charismatic renewal provides an avenue for integration into a ritual society, it does create a hiatus between "sacred" and "secular" elements in the community.

An essential element of the impact of Euro-Canada upon the Cree has been the introduction of Western education and its subsequent reorientation of Native children's values and mores from traditional to more Western ones. The first schools at Cree 2 were established by William Sinclair Sr. shortly after the post was founded for the purpose of educating the children of HBC employees (Lent,1962,p.49). This early school, however, would have benefitted few Native children, other than those of mixed blood who were considered "Hudson Bay Company families". The importance of schooling, however, was not lost on the Native population. In 1829, Wakish, a Cree boatman for the HBC, asked Colin Robertson to make arrangements so he could send his son to the Red River Colony in order to attend school (PAM, HBC.A.B. 156/a/12,f1.56).

After the Wesleyan mission was established in 1852 at Jackson Bay, the missionary ran a school for Native children near the mission (PAM, MG2,c 14). The move to the village placed families in a state of limbo. In order to make a living, men had to either go to the bush and trap, or go out and work on the railroad or on construction at Thompson. At the same time their children had to be at school in the village, which meant that a cabin had to be maintained for the family at Cree 2. The strain of separation was more than emotional. Survival of the family at a subsistence level in the village, without the father, was difficult. Often when young adults (20's) speak of growing up at Cree 2, a common theme centers around the hardships faced by the family when the father was away (Hanks, IP. p.70). Today although people at Cree 2 admit that their standard of living is better than it has ever been before, they still are not completely comfortable with village life and pine for the freedom of their former life style. When asked why did you move into the village?

the answer most frequently given is "so the kids could get to school".

Despite earlier precedents for education at Cree 2, it was not until after the signing of the treaty that the Government of Canada began to push for attendance at the village primary day school and secondary boarding school at Cree 1.[*] Parents complained that school endangered "traditional family discipline" (Mason, 1967, p.xi). Subsequently, after 1946 when family allowance was introduced, Indian Affairs used suspension of funds as means of forcing Native families to send their children to school (Dunning, 1959, p.18). A combination, then, of fear that education undermined traditional discipline and the resentment of the fact that the "government" was forcing them into the village so the children could attend school, created a deep resentment of the educational system.

Although older people especially blame the school system for pulling the Cree into a permanent village, throughout the 1950's, '60's and the early 1970's the Cree 2 people were hopeful that education would provide new hope for the children. Education was a way for the young to have a chance in the outside world. Therefore:

> The young were going out and becoming educated and thus learning to cope with the Euro-Canadian world around them.. The dream of education, however, ended dramatically for the (Cree 2) people. In June of 1972, eight ... students died when their plane crashed shortly after take-off from Winnipeg airport. The crash caused the community to draw into itself. Parents, who had once willingly sent their children off to school, kept them at home. Those who had completed their education and had returned home realized that high school meant nothing when trying to survive in . .(Cree 2). (Hanks, I.P., p.6).

As a result of the crash, the people at Cree 2 collectively turned against education. Despite a new school which was built in the community, attendance stayed uniformly low throughout the 1970's. In 1979, the first Cree 2 student since before the 1972 crash graduated from high school and subsequently entered Red River community college. The graduation of that student symbolically marked a change in attitude toward education. School attendance was higher in 1979-80 than it had been in past years. Increased school attendance is undoubtedly symptomatic of a change in parental attitudes and may indicate a more widespread change at the village level. If such a change has occurred, it may signal a pragmatic shift in attitudes among younger parents. Many middle-aged Cree state that "the world is changing and we will have to change also". This attitude runs in frequent opposition to elders who have maintained a policy of isolation. What then are at the roots of this change in attitude?

---

[*] Cree 1 refers to the Norway House Band.

First as one parent stated: "If my children are going to have a chance, they have to speak English. Further, if it means that they do not learn to speak Cree, that is a chance I will take."

Although this is an extreme view even among the acculturated segments of Cree 2, it does express an opinion held to a lesser degree by many parents. Behind this is an underlying belief held by many residents between 20-35 years of age, that change is coming so quickly that traditional isolationism will no longer protect them. Pragmatically, one individual summed it up this way,"If we are going to survive we will have to change".

Despite the recognition of the inevitability of change by a large portion of the community, it is still not considered desirable. Because change has been so rapid since the late 1960's, people have become ambivalent toward it. One middle-aged informant recalls that during the late 60's and early '70's when he was at residential school every time he came home something new had happened (e.g. the village road, the airstrip, new houses, and the new school). He continued that after the air crash when the students were killed, people became very bitter about the continuous encroachment upon their lives by outsiders. Hence, when a question is posed about the introduction of television, frequently the response indicates that:

> Television, in one sense, is simply another White Man's advice not unlike movies, radio, radio-telephones, telephones, cars, snowmobiles and outboard motors. It's coming is not seen as a gift, but like school, Christianity and other Western material culture, it is understood there is a "price" which must be paid for modernization. That "price" is the Cree's ability to direct and shape the destiny of their children according to their traditional beliefs (Hanks, I.P., p.9).

The reaction to the introduction of television is symptomatic of the perceptual divergence that has occurred within Cree 2 toward Western material culture. Primarily the population is divided along a continuum between those acculturated into Western society and those who still adhere to the traditional Cree metaphysic.

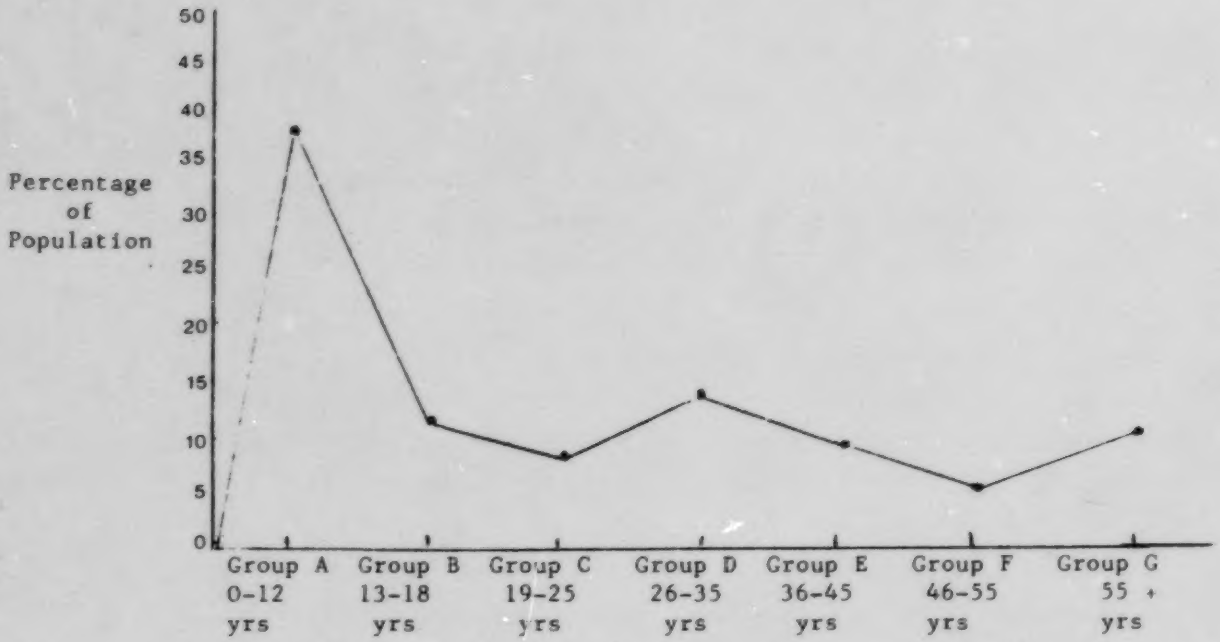
The more acculturated are frequently pragmatic about accepting innovation. They do so because they feel they must in order to survive. Between those who openly adopt new technology, like television, into their lives and the "traditional" Cree, is a group characterized by the Pentecostal sect. They have accepted much material culture (e.g., cars, boats and skidoo's) as a way of making their lives easier. Idealogically they have embraced fundamental charismatic Christianity, but in their acceptance they have internalized it and reconciled it with the traditional belief system. Despite Pentecostalisms' Western Christian origins, it has, at Cree 2, become an expression of the Cree internalization of Christianity. The material culture accepted by the Pentecostals from Euro-Canada can be used within their way of life. Their epistemological interpretation of Christian idealogy is a local hybrid. In other words, their acceptance of the outside world goes only so far as they feel they can control its influence. Therefore input that can not be internally controlled is rejected. Television was nominally rejected initially on the grounds that it was influenced by the devil, but underlying this is a deeper motive. Television provides a constant outside input that can not easily be internally adopted and controlled by the people in Cree 2.

At the far end of the continuum is a very conservative traditional element that rejects Western material culture. Although these people exist within the community, they form a very small minority out of the mainstream. Ultimately the extreme conservatives are atypical within Cree society, because they lack the pragmatic adaptability to change which characterizes Algonkian society (Steinbring, 1979, p.185).

No matter where on the continuum an individual is placed, they seem to have objections to overt interference in their lives at Cree 2 by outsiders. This general annoyance at outside interference in village life, combined with increased social pressure caused by the breakdown of the traditional kin-based infrastructure, has generated increased stress both interpersonally and societally for the Cree. Television then becomes one more factor in an intensive developmental sequence which began with the movement into the village, and has expanded through the transportation and communication revolutions to leave the Cree geographically isolated yet technologically integrated into Euro-Canadian society. The demographic profile of the community forecasts even greater change in the future. Since the introduction of regular medical services to the community during the late 1940's and early 1950's

(Dunning, 1959, p.19), there has been a dramatic drop in the infant mortality rate. The net result is that the population has increased rapidly since the late 1940's. This has created a very large demographically young population. According to the 1977 Cree 2 band list, 38% of the population at Cree 2 was 12 years of age or younger and 50% is 18 years of age or younger. This is comparable to much of the third world, where 41 to 46% of the population is 15 years of age or younger and contrasts with most Western industrially developed countries where 24 to 31% of the population is 15 years old or younger (Spengler, 1974, p.63). The high birthrate and lower mortality rate which has occurred as a result of the introduction of modern medicine in the late 1940's has created a disproportionate number of youthful dependents. Although Western Europe encountered a similar phenoena during its early developmental period, it was not as great a handicap because Europe at that time had a "relatively" higher mortality and a "relatively" lower fertility rate than is encountered in many underdeveloped regions today (Spengler, 1974, p.68). One result of the high dependency ratio is an increased economic pressure on those individuals of a working age (18-55). Because the possibilities for wage labor are inadequate (Hanks, IP, p.7) at Cree 2, it creates a critical political problem in terms of the distribution of government aid (make work projects, training programs and welfare). Political power in the village is frequently expressed in terms of kin based factions, and these factions represent groups which contain young dependants, persons of working age and old dependants. Distributional maturations for government aid do not occur as frequently between generations as they do between kin groups.

Age plays a much more critical role in questions of leadership. Is the older politician as capable as the young? Who best understands the needs of the community in the present? And what does the future require? Generally speaking the young are more acculturated and subsequently more futuristic, while the older people are more traditional and present oriented.



The above graphic breakdown of the Cree 2 Band, is based upon demographic data found on the 1977 Band List. As of 1977 the Band had a population of 943 individuals.

Thus, an imbalance in the population toward the youth creates at least three major political problems.

1. When the number of young people is large, it becomes difficult if not impossible to make adequate provision for their training and education [both formal and informal].

2. The ratio of children to adults also conditions the capacity of a society to assimilate and convert its youth into responsible members. As a result anti social behaviour among the young is higher then for the old.

3. Economic assimilation is much more difficult as a result of high fertility....it is handier for persons newly

> entering the labor force to find satisfactory employment... there is much greater need....for capital and other employment, fostering inputs, a need hard to meet when the rate of capital formation per head is low... (Spengler, 1974, pp70-71).

In the case of Cree 2, the education, employment and enculturation of a large youthful population is compounded, because it is only part of a larger pattern of culture change. The population boom came in the same generation as the move into the village, the collapse of the trapping economy and, the minimal transition to wage labor. Further, because no viable economic base has been developed, the major source of capital input is from Federal and Provincial grants made to the band. The distribution of these funds in the form of jobs, houses, and welfare is a local political decision. As a result, the majority of the population is dependant upon favorable political decisions toward their family group for economic survival. Because of the tremendous economic power held by the Chief and council, there is active debate over precisely what their responsibilities are. To many of the older people, the Chief is responsible for their general welfare, i.e. he should visit the people and find out what their needs are and then give them as much assistance as possible. At the other extreme the younger more acculturated population view the chief as a negotiator with the government, a person whose job it is to find more economic assistance for the village now and in the future. To please the former requires a selfless charismatic individual, while the latter require a person who speaks English and understands the manipulation of the government.

At a base level, the village political structure has been molded into a distribution system for economic assistance. On one plane it reflects a communal concern for local welfare, while on another an intense rivalry because there is limited capital. If one group receives more another receives less. Thus, the management of the "communal capital" causes tension on two levels. First on an intra-kin level disputes arise over one group having greater access to assistance then another. Secondly, at a generational level disputes arise over the question of communal versus individual priorities. The combination of a mushrooming population, traditional kin rivalries and a controlled finite source of capital has made economic stability a central issue in the maintenance of social equilibrium. The stress caused by economic dependency upon the government, and its subsequent limitations upon growth has been and will continue to be the single most important problem faced by the Cree 2 people. In addition to the central economic issue, Western education, mechanized transportation and electronic communications all become integrated into the economic scenario, because they potentially compound the problem. Education leaves students with the expectation that they should be able to find a better job, but such positions seldom exist. Improved village roads means cars and trucks can be used but that requires large sums of capital for the purchase and maintenance of a vehicle. Although regular air service gives people mobility, it also demands increasingly large sums of money for tickets. Radio, and television on one hand increase contact with the outside world, while on the other encourage consumerism by creating new desires. The problem is that of the double edged sword. On the one side the Cree 2 people deserve the same chance as every one else to participate in the material benefits of Western society. On the other hand their community lacks the economic base to support mass consumerism. The painful reality would appear to be one of rapidly rising expectations without the growth potential to meet those new demands. As a result of those unfulfilled expectations, tensions will continue to grow, not only on an inter personal level within the village, but between the Cree 2 people and the larger society around it.

The essence of Cree 2's existence has been and will continue to be the interactional opposition between two "cultures", Cree and a blend called Euro-Canadian. More precisely it is the meeting of a technologically and organizationally dominant culture and a less structured, individually oriented hunting society. In harsh terms it is "cultural invasion" by the technologically oriented Euro-Canadians.

The point of opposition can be defined at two elementary levels - "primary interaction" and "secondary interaction".
Primary interaction is:

> ...that type wherein both the origination and response are accomplished by the unaided human organism (Turney-High, 1968, p.184).

Traditionally sociologists have defined this phenomena as face to face interaction, where little time or distance intervenes. In terms of cultural contact at Cree 2, this would imply the direct impact of Euro-Canadian traders, educators and government agents with the Cree. Historically because Cree 2 is geographically isolated, most interaction has occured at the face to face level of teachers instructing children, traders buying fur and Indian Agents giving government directives etcetera.

Secondary interaction is:

> ...that type of human relationship wherein neither the origination, nor the responding actors are in each other's physical presence in space and time, but rely on a material intervention as a medium of communication or on the intervention of other parties (1968, p.185).

Although letters, memoranda and dispatched messengers acted as sources of secondary interaction throughout the fur trade and early treaty period, they did not have the effect of a secondary interaction, because their message was either delivered or implemented through a primary face to face contact. Despite the implication of the primary and secondary definitions which would make a government agent merely an intervenor as opposed to an originator, Native people would accredit the agent with originating the directives, while the government was being shielded by its absence. In effect it was frequently to Euro-Canadian representative's advantage to not clearly define their varied roles as both an originator and an intervenor.

As a result, in this paper Euro-Canadian secondary interaction shall be dealt with as material inventions such as telegraph, telephone, teletype (Turney-High, 1968, p.185)and television. At a less technical level, even the postal system is a secondary interaction. Secondary interaction then, is the reporting of:

> ...what is happening at a place veiled by obstacles or distance from the observers eye (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1949, p.1259).

Within the traditional Cree epistomology, functional analogies can be made between dreaming and shamanistic manipulations of time and distance through the shaking tent, to secondary interaction.

If one accepts that all transactions between individuals and cultures cause change in the "total reality" of both personalities and cultures, then the type of interaction will effect the nature of the transition. Individuals perceive the totality of their environment within the forms of their cultural background. Culture is abstracted from the total environment. This does not mean culture is unreal, only that it is only part of reality (Turney-High, 1968, p.187). With the totality of the human environment, different cultural groups have abstracted different aspects of the environment.

To understand the impact of technology from Euro-Canadian culture upon the Cree metaphors about communications across time and space, it is necessary to understand the levels on which transaction between cultures take place. Primary transaction:

> ...exists when contact and communication is so close that there is mutual interpretation of personalities of both originators and termini (1968, p188).

Going back to the definition of primary interaction, we find that primary transaction is based upon a face to face encounter. For example, a nurse can learn more about a patient's illness by examining the patient in person then over the telephone, despite the fact that the same questions might be asked. The personal contact enhances the strength of the communication, because context of the originator's statement can be better grasped in a close time-distance relationship, then in one that either time or distance has been increased. The recognition of the necessity of reducing time and distance is effectively dealt with by the Cree in dreams where special dimensions lose importance or in the shaking tent where unlike:

> ...a telephone, ...a person is brought to the tent instead of his voice travelling a great distance ...(Hanks, IP.p.12).

The Cree have (at least for dreaming and the shaking tent) blended primary and secondary transaction through altering "physical reality" within their cultural obstruction of the human environment.

Secondary interaction is highly dependent upon the state of the arts, without writing and subsequent technology secondary interactions is limited to third part interventions (Turney-High, 1968, p.189) such as gossip, indirect news, commands and warnings of shamanistic reprisals. Thus, except for third part interpretation and late historic developments such as syllabics, secondary interaction did not become a persuasive influence in Cree-Euro-Canadian relations until Western education began to introduce reading and writing. Despite its introduction, English remained at best a secondary language, used primarily in the school and in exchanges with the government. Because English is not commonly used in village life, it would be incorrect to say that newspapers, magazines and books become a wide spread source of secondary interaction.

After hydro-electric service was established in Cree 2 in 1968-9 by Manitoba Hydro, A.M. radio reception became a viable source of secondary interaction with Euro-Canada (Hanks, IP,p4). Again because many people in Cree 2 did not understand English, the use of the radio as secondary transaction was limited to music and a few hours of Native language programming per week.

Therefore, as a result of a lack of nonreligious readings in Cree Syllabics, and a poor grasp of both written and spoken English by a majority of the population, secondary transaction with Euro-Canada did not really become important until movies and then television were introduced. The first motion pictures were shown by the manager of the Hudson Bay Company in 1951. The films, home movies made by the Hudson Bay managers in the 1930's and in 1951, were shown against the back wall of the nursing station, the only building in town with 110 volt service. According to the 1951 HBC manager, the people in Cree 2 in 1951 were frightened by the 1950 movies because many people in them were dead (Hanks, I.P. pp. 4-5). The concept of spirit capture by cameras is a common world wide phenomenon amongst non Western people, and has previously been documented for Algonkians by Densmore (1929, p.70) and Granzberg (1980 p. 125). A local clerk for the Hudson Bay Company at Cree 2 when the first movies were shown, noted that the people had trouble watching the films at first because every time they concentrated upon the scene it changed (Hanks, I.P. p.5). The author was told of a similar problem by older informants in Cree 2 when hockey was first seen on television. According to informants, they had trouble at first because the speed of the film was constantly changing. What they were troubled by was the change from regular action which is rather fast to stop action and slow speed replays. Despite the 26 years of exposure between the introduction of motion pictures in 1951 and television in 1977, film still not entirely prepared people for the optical experience produced by television.

Beyond adapting to the optical and the perceptual experience of watching constant motion at a variety of speeds on either a movie or television screen, the Cree 2 people like the visual format. There was a general concensus among a 20% sample of the community which was informally polled in January 1978, 6 months after television was introduced, to the question: "Which do you like better, radio or television?". Almost all of those people questioned stated that they preferred television. They chose television because the picture helped them understand what was happening even if their English was poor. People supported the importance of the visual image by stating that they liked programs with plenty of action (eg. "Hawaii 5-0") and did not like programs without action (eg. "Take-30" an afternoon CBC talk show). It is interesting to note however, that a few of the highly acculturated (very fluent English) do watch talk shows, citing that they are interesting and informative.

Results from structured interviews on the use of television by Cree people in communities Cree 1 and Cree 2 indicate that 20% of the sample preferred soap operas and police action programs. These two leading categories were closely followed by situation comedy and live sports casts (Pereira 1980: 370-371). Further research conducted on the soap opera "Edge of Night" indicates that Algonkians view that program as:

> ...a collage of events about Euro-Canadian society from which people can learn both customs and technical knowledge such as the law (Hanks 1979: 173).

The "Edge of Night" research concluded that the Saultaux in the study group found that:

> ...events in "Edge of Night" depict several areas of conflict Native people perceive as crucial to their contacts with Euro-Canada (Hanks 1979: 173).

In actuality, "Edge of Night" is used by many Algonkian speaking people as an "Ethnography" of Euro-Canada.

At the level of primary cultural transaction between Euro-Canada and the Cree, the primary groups which interact (eg. students-teachers, customers at the Hudson Bay Company and the management, patients and medical staff and band officials and Federal and Provincial administrators) cause change in both originators and termini, but there is a feed back loop (ie. A communicates to B, then B responds, and A can interpret B's comprehension from the response) that enables both parties to interpret the effect of the communication. When communication between Euro-Canada and the Cree shifts to secondary interaction, the feed back loop is less well defined and it therefore becomes more difficult for either the communicator or the termini to judge whether or not the communicators message has been received with the meaning that was originally intended. The implication of secondary communications is that the initiator does not know how the termini has been effected by the transaction.

In so much as secondary transaction is relatively new to the Cree on a level that transcends third person intervention, and because the majority of the Cree 2 population is not extremely sophisticated in their knowledge of "middle class life" in Euro-Canadian society, the potential for the misinterpretation of secondary devices like television is ominous. Further, because the information loop is incomplete the Euro-Canadian initiators have no direct feed back from the Cree termini and therefore, may have very little idea of the consequence of their transmissions. As a result, a program like the "Edge of Night" which was designed as a release for urban housewives, becomes an ethnographic statement on Euro-Canadian society for the Cree.

Within European society, anthropologist Harry Turney-High notes that:

> "The correlation between the rise of secondary media and groups and the rise in juvenile delinquency in this century is not an accidental one, ... (Turney-High, 1968, p.191)

Within Native societies that are not familiar with the nature of secondary transactions and, further, tend not to view entertainment as something separate from education and information (Katz,1977, p.118), the potential for misinterpretation of electronic media is extremely high. It has been previously observed that television models of behaviour are very important for Cree children at Mistassini, Quebec (Peter Sindell 1968, p.89) and has been correlated to increased aggression in sports, the adaptation of the martial arts and the imitation of "Clint Eastwood"in aggressive situations at Cree 2 (Hanks, IP. p19). Further the failure to separate information, education, and entertainment in the media, would explain in part why the soap opera "Edge of Night" is considered to be a source of information on Euro-Canada and why adult Cree frequently cannot accept "The Muppets" as simple entertainment.

The failure of television as a secondary communicatory device and hence, as a secondary level of transaction between Euro-Canada and the Cree is based upon the fact that the originator's message frequently totally changes by the time it is interpreted cross-culturally by the Cree termini. The problem is compounded further by the fact that the originators do not perceive that the termini are misinterpreting their intent. The Cree, at various levels, consciously and subconsciously understand that there are problems with television. Some of that dissatisfaction has been previously expressed in the Pentecostal rejection of television in Cree 2. Many of the more secular state that the problem could be improved if more channels were available so that people could have a greater selectivity than simply turning the set on and off.

In a structured interview on the use of television administered in 1978, 53% of the Native respondants from Cree 1 and 2 indicated a desire to have Native programming on television (Pereira, 1980: 381). Within the broad concept of "Native" programming, there are several broad subdivisions. First there is the sub-division between Native language and non-Native language programming, both containing Native content. Second there is a division between network generated Native oriented programming and locally generated Native programming. Network programming would be produced for instance by CBC Northern Services for broadcast across the Canadian sub-arctic. Because of dialect and tribal differences, Native language would be difficult, but the production of themes solvent to the Native idiom would be possible (e.g. a northern soap opera, northern news, religious services done by Native people and northern public affairs programming). Locally generated programming would involve individual communities having their own broadcast facilities so they could make some of their own programs. At this level, Native language programming would be practical because programs could be produced by people of the same dialect that would be watching the program. Local Native programming is already being done by the Red Sucker Lake Band in north eastern Manitoba. At the present their programs consist of band meetings and bingo parties. But it is a start.

Because television has the potential to drastically influence people, and as has been demonstrated in this paper, that the transaction between Euro-Canada and the Cree through television leads to distortion of meanings between the originator and the termini, the long term dissemination of "Western" values through television to the Cree could have serious consequences for Cree cultural integrity.

The people of Cree 2 recognize the problem and have sought change by condemning television, requesting more channels so that they have more options and finally requesting "Native" television. For Euro-Canada society to blindly assume that introducing television was the correct course of action was short sighted. If now, after the effect of television has become known, no action is taken to help place control of the northern media in the hands of Native people, then the intent of the government and the people of Canada clearly would seem to be that of oppressing the Native Canadian. In this case the oppression is directed toward a cultural invasion of isolated Native populations through the medium of television. According to Paule Freire:

> Cultural invasion...serves the needs of conquest. In this phenomenon, the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression. Whether urbane or harsh, cultural invasion is thus always an act of violence against the persons of the invaded culture, who lose their originality or face the threat of losing it. In cultural invasion the invaders are the authors of, and actors in, the process; those they invade are the objects. The invaders mold; those they invade are molded. The invaders choose; those they invade follow that choice -- or are expected to follow it
>
> (Freire, 1973, in Guadalupe, 1979, p.2).

Whether or not cultural invasion is a deliberate act or not, it happens whenever a highly technological society encounters a less technological culture. Unless the dominant culture is consciously aware of the potential impact of its existence in relationship to other cultural groups, those adjacent to it are absorbed with frequently disasterous effects upon the cultural and personal identities of the disinherited population.

Television does not have to be a largely negative force. It has the potential to be, as many Cree expected it would be, a device used with positive returns for spreading information, education and entertainment. To transform its function will take cooperation between several levels of government, the networks and the Native people. Ultimately television in the north should be what the Native people make it. The final outcome will undoubtedly not be what we in Euro-Canadian society perceived it might be, but it should more closely reflect the aspirations of the Cree and many of the other Native groups.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources

Bishop, Charles A. 1974 The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade; An Historical and Ecological Study. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada).

Densmore, Frances 1929 Chippewa Customs. (Washington; Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 86).

Dunning, R.W. 1959 Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Eggan, Fred 1950 Social Organization of the Western Pueblos. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).

Eliade, Mircea 1964 Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Granzberg, Gary 1980 "The Introduction of Television into Northern Manitoba Cree Community: A Study of Meanings, Uses and Effects" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada. Winnipeg, Univ. of Winnipeg

Hanks, Christopher N.D "The Hudson's Bay Company Post at Oxford House: 1798-1830". Manuscript of Masters Thesis.

Hanks, Granzberg and Steinbring In Press, "Developmental change and the Mass Media Among the Oxford House Cree". Polar Record (Cambridge:Scott Polar Institute)

Hanks, Christopher
1979
"Edge of Night in Native and non-Native Societies: A Pilot Study of the Use of Video-tape to Elicit Cross-Cultural Data on the Perception and Meaning of Television Programs", in Steinbring et al. The Impact and Meaning of Television Among Native Communities in Northern Manitoba, Winnipeg, University of Winnipeg.

Hanks, Christopher
1980
"Television Among the Oxford House Cree" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) Television and the Canadian Indian.

Katz, Elihu
1977
"Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media". Journal of Communications vol. 27, No. 2.

Lent, D. Geneva
1962
"Boyhood of Oxford House". Beaver spring.

Mason, Leonard
1967
The Swampy Cree: A study in Acculturation. (Ottawa: Anthropology Papers National Museum of Canada, No. 13)

Pereira, Cecil
1979
1980
"When Television Invades Remote Northern Communities". In Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) TV and the Canadian Indian

Rogers, Edward
1969
"Band Organization Among the Indians of Eastern Subartic Canada" in Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies, David Dumas, ed. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 228, Anthropology series No. 84)

Service, Elman R.
1962
Primitive Social Organization. (New York: Random House)

Smith, James G.E.
1973
Leadership Among the South-western Ojibwa. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, publications in Ethnology, No. 7)

Spengler, John
1974
Population change Modernization and Welfare (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc.)

Steinbring, Jack
1979
"Television and the Jackhead Indians: Identity Stress on the Cultural Boundary", in Steinbring, et al.

Turner and Westman
1977
Shamattawa: The Structure of Social Relations in a Northern Algonkian Band. (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service paper, No. 36)

Turney-High, Harry Halbert
1968
Man and System: Foundations for the Study of Human Relations. (New York: Appleton - Century - Crofts.)

Sindell, Peter
1968
"Some Discontinuities in Enculturation of Mistassini Cree Children", in *Conflict in Culture: Problems of Developmental change Among the Cree,* Norman Chance, ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University.)

Velez Guadalupe, Hector
1979
"Television Messages vs Health Communication" Paper presented at the conference. " Communication with Mexican Americans, Por Su Buena Salud". sponsored by Baylor College of Medicine and the National High Blood Pressure Education Program.

Archival Sources

Confederation Library, Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Campbell, William — "Diary of Big Bill Campbell 1890's".

Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

Letter from John Taylor, "Oxford House, September 1, 1852.". MG2, C14, Ross papers 41.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

List of the Native Population Trading of Oxford House in 1823, P.A.M HBC B. 93/2/1.

Colin Robertsons Journal of the Winter Road, 1828-29, P.A.M HBC, B.156/a/11.

List of Indian Population Belonging to the Honorable Hudson Bay Company Posts in Island Lake District, June 1, 1838, P.A.M HBC, B. 239/2/10.

Oxford House Journal 1850, P.A.M HBC B. 156/a/29.

A letter from William Sinclair to William Ballenden, 29th February, 1800. P.A.M HBCA. B. 239/b/66.

A letter from Chief Factor Colin Robertson to Rev. D. Jones, 1829 P.A.M HBCA. B. 156/a/12.

CHAPTER 9

TELEVISION AMONG THE OXFORD HOUSE CREE

by Christopher Hanks

Acknowledgements

No academic effort can culminate in meaningful results, without the researcher owing countless debts to those who assisted him. In this case, the people of Oxford House made this work possible, they allowed me to come among them to listen and to learn. For their tolerance and patience, I will be forever grateful.

Anthropological research has traditionally been based upon participant observation. For this method of behavioural study to be valid, it must continue over an extended period of time. Sponsoring long term research, at times, involves an enormous amount of faith, as results are often slow. For the chance to do extended fieldwork, I owe a great deal to the directors of the Northern Communications Project Dr. John Hamer, Dr. Gary Granzberg, and Dr. Jack Steinbring. Over the past four years, they have exhibited constant and never-ending faith on my research. I wish, also, to express appreciation to Communications Canada for their far-sighted funding of our project.

I would like to thank my wife, Nancy, for editing this paper and Mrs. Janet Cameron for typing it.

Finally all interpretations in this paper are the result of my analysis, and any misinterpretation of the data is solely the responsibility of the author.

CHAPTER 9

Introduction

Oxford House, Manitoba is located on the Hayes River, approximately 400 air miles north-east of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The population of Oxford House is approximately 1,100 people. With the exception of about fifty Euro-Canadian teachers, nurses and Hudson's Bay Company employees the population is Cree.

Oxford House was established in 1798 as a Hudson's Bay Company trading post on the canoe route between York Factory on Hudson's Bay and Lake Winnipeg. As a result of its position on a major fur trade route, the Cree have been in intensive contact for the last 200 years. Since the decline of the fur trade in the late 19th century and the signing of the treaties however, the type of contact that existed between the trader and the Indians has been modified by increased government and missionary intervention. The first part of this paper then, traces the change that has occurred since the treaty was signed, and then relates television to that ongoing process of acculturation.

In Part II the traditional Cree interpretation of television is discussed in relation to the narrative as a method of expressing television's meaning to the Cree. This perceptive is then compared to the more technical interpretation of television that the younger more acculturated accept. The conflict that results from the difference in perspective between the traditional Cree and those acculturated into a more technological Euro-Canadian's perspective has set the stage for the ultimate dilemma television poses to the Cree.

PART I

In the years following the 1909 signing of Treaty Five by the Oxford House people, a pattern of increasing contact with Euro-Canadians has occurred. Nominally the seventy years since treaty can be broken down into three periods. The first extends from 1909 through roughly 1940. It is characterized by the establishment of a government sponsored political system (i.e., the chief and council), suppression of traditional religious beliefs (e.g., shaking tent, Mason, 1967, p.xl), and the entrenchment of the local village school as a permanent institution. The second period from 1940-1960 incorporates the final demise of the family trapping system and the subsequent change from nomadic to sedentary village life. Connected closely to that change is the emergence of wage labor as a replacement for trapping. The final period from 1960-1979 witnessed the increase of social services and the massive introduction of Western technology to Oxford House. Two-way radio was first introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1939 (Horner, 1939 p.13) and was supplemented by Manitoba Telephone Radio telephone service in 1948 (Hauch. 1979 personal communication). Although radio communication was available in the period prior to 1960 large scale introduction of Euro-Canadian methods of transportation and communications began in 1968 and 1969 with the introduction of hydro, the construction of the airstrip and all-weather village road (Northern Affairs, 1972). Eight years after these initial introductions, long distance telephone and television were initiated with the construction of a micro-wave tower in the village. The communications revolution was completed in 1979 when the Manitoba Telephone System upgraded the long distance service to direct dial.

Despite the technical advances that took place in the areas of communications and transportation, no economic base has been developed in the village. And with increases in welfare and other social services men have stopped seasonally leaving the village to find work. Thus, though Oxford House has been brought into the modern world, its people lack the economic means to truly become a part of that world.

Top

The Manitoba Telephone Services micro-wave tower at Oxford House.

(Photo Steinbring)

Bottom

Winter Road Causeway across the Hayes River. Jack Grieves in the foreground.

(Photo Hanks)

Top

Jimmy Williams' old cabin. The logs are all hewed square and joined at the corners by dovetail joints. Jimmy says the cabin is about 80 years old. It is the oldest house in Oxford House.

(Photo Steinbring)

Middle

David Munroe Sr.'s house behind his potato garden.

(Photo Steinbring)

Bottom

Jack Grieves digging a hole in the ice to set a net on the Hayes River.

(Photo Hanks)

The results of increased government intervention in the period from 1909-1940 can best be summarized from the observations of Leonard Mason, an ethnologist who worked in the village in 1938 and 1939. Traditionally the Cree had no formalized leadership (Rogers, 1965: p.270). Thus it is not surprising when Mason notes that in Oxford, the chief's function was misinterpreted and he was often expected to "... cut winter firewood, build cabins, and repair leaky roofs for Indians who are unable or too lazy to take care of themselves"(Mason, 1967, p.44). Missionaries misused treaty administrative powers in an attempt to control "illegitimate" children by having mothers "... stricken from the treaty rolls for a few years as punishment"(1967, p.55). Parents felt that the three-year elementary school encouraged children to seek release from traditional family discipline:(1967, p.xi). Thus it is not surprising when Mason writes that the "... new statutes had not been successfully integrated into the band's social structure by 1940".

Though the first period witnessed an attempt by government to take an active role in the acculturation of Oxford House, the second brought far more actual exposure to the outside world. In 1943 and 1944, men from Oxford House were taken south to help harvest the grain crop when an agricultural labor shortage was caused by the war. 1948 and 1949 witnessed the end of summer canoe freighting by the Hudson's Bay Company and the men were forced to look elsewhere for summer work. Through co-operation between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Federal government, loans were made to the men against their store accounts for air fare to go out and work on the railroad (Jack J. Wood, personal communication, 1977). In the early 1950's educational facilities were increased in the village for the primary grades, and more pressure was placed on the older youth to go out to residential school after completing their first few years in the village primary school. The increased pressure to keep the children in school had two effects. First, parents had to stay in the village during the winter so younger children could go to school. This meant that the family group could no longer be intensively involved in trapping because they could no longer live on the trapline. Further, the removal of older children to residential school meant that much of the labour force traditionally available to the family group in the bush was no longer present.

As a result, during the 1950's, a new type of life style emerged that differed sharply from the fur trade years - i.e., men alone now went trapping in the winter and the men again alone went out to do wage labor in the summer. The women and children had become permanent residents of the log cabin village near the store at the north end of the lake (the exception to this was summer fishing, when for a couple of months families still might live out in the bush). The time spent in the bush even for the men shortened however, as the separation of families caused its own problems. A common story among young people of the 20 - 30 year old age group is that of the hardship suffered by the family when the father was away. One young man describes a fall in the 1950's when his father had stayed on working for the railroad until shortly before freeze up.

> Thus: Before father arrived home the family was short of wood. Because the HBC account had not been paid off the family had little credit at the store and was short of food. As a result the eldest son (a boy of 8 or 9 years) stayed home from school to try and run a net and check rabbit snares.

The arrival of the father on one of the last planes to land before freeze-up is still remembered as a cherished memory of childhood, because of the hardship his absence had caused.

By the late 1950's settled village life and education for the children had become stabilized by the introduction of family allowance and its requirement that children must attend school if the family was to receive its allowance. As permanent jobs became available in the village, a few men began to take them (e.g., one of the maintenance men at the Oxford House School has held his position since 1953). The traditional preference for bush life and a shortage of full-time work in the village however, resulted in few men following suit and settling to work in Oxford House.

Even as summer work away from the village and solo winter trapping were becoming established, change was again occurring. In the early 1960's welfare was increased to try and relieve the economic plight of the Cree during the transition from the trapping economy to one of wage labor. The result was the eventual institutionalization of welfare as a viable means of earning a living when it became obvious that there was not enough wage labor to support the population. As the government became more involved in the economic subsidy of Oxford House, grants were made available for brush cutting projects in the winter and housing construction in the summer. Also with government aid, summer commercial fishing became a viable alternative to the men leaving the village to work. Despite these attempts to create new economic possibilities, welfare continued to grow until, by 1978, 60 - 80% of the population received some form of economic assistance.

Despite the hardships caused by the changing economic conditions, the people still had hope for their youth. The young were going out and becoming educated and thus learning to cope with the Euro-Canadian world around them. Education was thought by many to be the salvation for the northern Native Canadian. The dream of education, however, ended dramatically for the Oxford House people. In June of 1972, eight Oxford House students died when their plane crashed shortly after take-off from the Winnipeg airport. The crash caused the community to draw into itself. Parents who had once willingly sent their children off to school kept them at home. Those who had completed their education and had returned home realized that high school meant nothing when trying to survive in Oxford House. Thus, despite a new school having been built in the community since the crash, the hopes for the future through education that once flourished have still not been revived.

The result of the movement to the village, the subsequent failure of the labor economy and the educational system, has created a generational alienation far stronger than what has occurred in southern Euro-Canadian society. "Functionally what happened is that the generation over 30 has lived in the bush and has been a part of the change to village life. The younger the individual the less exposure they have had to the more traditional life style. Thus, a great gap in life experiences exists between those who grew up in the bush and those who grew up in the village. The young people who have grown up in the village are of the generation that was expected to benefit so much from Euro-Canadian education - but they are, in fact, the generation which was led partway down the path to acculturation through education, and then abruptly halted by the crash and the subsequent loss of faith in the educational process which followed. Hence the current youth of Oxford House were raised in a tradition different from their elders, but one in which the elders now disapprove. The identity crisis that has resulted has been marked by escapism through gas sniffing, a disintegration of respect for authority which has led to increased violence among the youth and severe alienation between generations.

In the late 1960's before the crash crystallized the course of events, the acculturation of the youth was already becoming stressful to the elders. A young man from Oxford House relates the following story about a conflict between the first rock and roll band in Oxford House and a powerful elder shaman.

> One night (A) came to the band members as they practiced and said "I want to have a contest with you. You Indians have your White Man's band and I'll set up a shaking tent like a true Indian, then we will see who is best".

Because the youth feared the potential power of the shaman, the contest never took place, but the implications of such a conflict are obvious. If we view the symbolic background of the story, we will find that the rock and roll band and the shaking tent illustrate the struggle between a generation given over by their elders to interact in new ways with the Euro-Canadian world and the traditional system of power and authority as exercised by Cree elders. In reality there is no equal compromise between the two, because the underlying belief systems are separated by language and cultural orientation.

The Cree metaphysic is oriented toward a non-scientific explanation of and a system for dealing with the bush. Western contact is bringing a metaphysical perspective oriented toward scientific materialism. It is possible for an individual to live with both, but frequently the result is a marginal man not well adapted to either.

Hence, we arrive at the central conflict the Cree perceive with modern communications and transportation. That is, modernization eases the physical hardship of life in the north, but it also ties the people firmly to a money economy that they do not have the economic base to support.

One of the first stories ever related to me in Oxford House was about how the airplane restricted people in their travel.

> In the old days if a man wanted to go from here (Oxford) to God's Lake, he got in his canoe and went. Now he must raise the money for the ticket and wait for the airplane.

The story-teller went on to explain that "yes" in terms of physical exertion it was easier to take the airplane than to paddle a canoe. But to take the airplane required that, like the European, you must now make money and follow schedules set by southerners. Thus the Indian is no longer free to move when and where he wants. The issue of buying an airplane ticket, and flying according to the schedule is in reality a small one, unless you understand the impact the resulting loss of autonomy has had on the Cree. They often discuss and most certainly feel that the control of their own destiny has slipped from their hands, and has passed to often nameless Euro-Canadian officials and companies which seem to place obstacles at their every turn. Thus, to understand the anticipation of and the reaction to, television, it is essential to keep the preceeding in mind.

Television, in one sense, is simply another White Man's device not unlike movies, radio, radio-telephones, telephones, cars, snow-mobiles and outboard motors. It's coming is not seen as a gift, but like school, Christianity, and other Western material culture, it is understood there is a "price" which must be paid for modernization. That "price" is the Cree's ability to direct and shape the destiny of their children according to their traditional beliefs. Thus the people sometimes accuse schools, movies and television of "stealing" their children. The people worry about the effects that the institutions of Euro-Canadian society have on youthful development because the community has little control over school curriculum and television programming. Hence, the increase in vandalism, and gas sniffing are symptomatic of and are often blamed on the increased Euro-Canadian contact. The people feel powerless to counteract this cultural interference and are now less willing to accept the intrusion on their life style.

The first part of this paper, then, has outlined the nature of change that has occurred in the twentieth century. It's purpose is to tie television into a sequence of events that continues to increase the contact Oxford House has with the outside world and to pull them away from their traditional bush orientation. An understanding of the rapid nature of this change is necessary if we are to place the differences in interpretation of television between the older, traditional Cree and the young more acculturated members of this society in its proper perspective.

PART II

As a result of the steadily increasing rate of acculturation that has taken place among the Oxford House Cree, a perceptual divergence has occurred between the older traditional residents of the community and the youth. This split can be seen in a shift from the use of the abstracted mythic-narrative explanation of reality to a more particularistic, materialistic ideology. Evidence of this change is obvious in the way in which the two groups define the function and operation of television.

The traditional motif for teaching values and expressing concepts in Cree society is the narrative, myth or legend.

> The context of narration (as contrasted with isolated facts) functions to convey to the bearer a whole and precise perception, sometimes almost a visual image, within the appropriate, inherent context". (Preston, 1975:p.10).

This is illustrated by the following narrative, which explains the process by which an individual's essence is brought within the confines of the shaking tent for the purpose of communicating with someone present at the performance. Informant (A) explained that if I wished to speak to my 'Father' (who is not present in the community) through the shaking tent, his spirit would have to be brought into the shaking tent.

> The shaking tent is like a telephone, only a person is brought to the tent instead of his voice travelling a great distance. If you wanted to speak to your Father, the conjurer would shake the tent for a minute and then your Father would be here to talk. When you are done talking, the tent will shake again and your Father will be home. It is like he is travelling on an airplane.

By the use of metaphors, my informant has explained how a spirit is brought to the shaking tent. The term "airplane" for example has been used as a metaphor for the transmigration ofthe 'Father's' spirit that would occur if he was really to be brought into the shaking tent. An image has been created of his entrance, but without entering into a particularistic explanation of the process by which it was brought about.

The particularistic knowledge of how the shaking tent works is gained by an individual dreaming "... that he is in the conjuring tent which is shaking" (Hallowell, 1942: p.23). Informants maintain that the only way to learn conjuring properly is through dreams. The knowledge can not be taught through apprenticeship. Further, it is dangerous for people to know all your dreams, because they then know your power. One man can dream of another's power and use that power against the individual. '(B)' tells a story of a young man who came into conflict with an old and powerful shaman, but defeated him because he had dreamed of the old man's power.

> At the time, people were still working on the York boats, a boy accompanied his father on a trip to York Factory. One night an old man was sitting with his legs crossed on the edge of a York Boat. The boy decided to play a trick on the man, so he threw hot coals under the man's loin cloth. As the old man leaped to his feet, cursing, the other men quietly slipped away, for he was a powerful shaman and they did not want to anger him. The Father was afraid for his son, for he knew that night he would be killed. Before he went to bed, the boy went into the bush and hewed a square pole. He brought the pole back to the tent and drove it into the ground in front of the flap. That night, after the boy slept, his Father lay awake to see what would happen. As he lay there, he heard a whistling sound and a witman (a carved bone sorcerer's charm) imbedded itself in the pole. Again and again the Father heard the whistling and saw another witman bury itself in the pole. After a while it was quiet and no more witmen appeared in the pole. The next morning the old man was found dead. The young boy had been more powerful because he had dreamed of the old man's power.

The narrative tells us more than of a shaman's battle. It explains the danger of others knowing your dreams. It places "dreams of power" within a category of knowledge that must be guarded because it could be used against you.

If we apply the narrative concept of the Cree to their explanations of Euro-Canadian technology, it is possible to understand why traditional segments of the community explain radio, television, airplanes and other pieces of what we would consider technical hardware in terms of metaphorical analogies. As we are not privy to the dreams of power that allow a shaman to shake a tent, the older people often feel that they are not privy to our technical knowledge that explains how radio and television work. What they do see, however, is clearly defined comparisions of function - radio lets you communicate with someone who is not present, so does the shaking tent.

To understand why the function of television can be separated totally from the mechanical operation of television, it is necessary to examine Cree epistomology. The traditional Cree metaphysic is based upon an animistic world, where dreams reveal knowledge of the spirit beings that abound within it. Based upon knowledge gained from dreams, shamans are able to use the shaking tent ceremony to "communicate" not only with spirits but also with people at great distances. According to (C), the old religion is based upon "the ability to control the mind and to concentrate upon using it to control the world around you". Hence when considering communication either through dreams or the shaking tent, it is essential to note that the process is a mental one.

When analogies are made by the older people to similarities between the traditional religious system and devices such as radio and television they are doing two things. First, they are, as previously mentioned, dealing with the capacity to communicate regardless of the process by which that communication takes place. Secondly, in addressing only the communicative function of radio and television it can be said that it can be incorporated within the Cree metaphysic without extensive modification of the traditional epistomology. Thus in a mythical narrative explanation of radio and television, where particularistic knowledge of technology is not imperative, it is quite appropriate to compare radio to a shaking tent in that both allow you to know what is going on at a great distance. Radio and television have been incorporated into the traditional Cree mental culture by defining only their ability to communicate with people in distant places and then drawing analogies between that capacity and the ability of the shaking tent to bring people from great distances to speak within the confines of the tent. Hence at a semantic level, the traditional Cree have a very clear perception of television's basic definition similar to the following:

> The seeing by aid of Hertzian waves or otherwise of what is existing or happening at a place veiled by obstacles or distance from the observer's eye (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1949: p.1259)

A conflict exists however between those individuals who accept the traditional mythic functional concept of television as presented in this paper, and the younger more acculturated Cree youth who do not accept the traditional narrative-myth as a valid representation of reality. In that the youth do not accept the narrative-myth concept of explaining reality, they can not accept a mythic-functional comparison of television to shamanistic practices of the old religion. In place of the narrative-myth concept, Cree youth have superficially accepted the Western idea of scientific-materialism. Hence they state television is a piece of electronic equipment that broadcasts programs created by the "White Man".

After taking the position that television is nothing more than a machine, it is very difficult for them to understand the more philosophical conception perceived by their elders. This difference of perspective has resulted from a different cultural experience. Individuals over thirty years of age experienced Cree culture with their elders in the bush. The youth who grew up in the village from birth have been told of bush life but lack the experience of it. Further, the village bound have been subject to more intensive enculturation due to their close proximity to the school, missionaries and traders, than were their middle to older aged relatives. Thus despite the fact that all the Oxford House people share a similar "world view", they have vastly different experiences within their culture.

This difference in experience creates a dichotomy in the culture of the Oxford House Cree that allows one group to maintain mythic exploitation of communications, and another to concentrate its attention upon the nature of the technology while ignoring the more mythic aspects of television. It would be incorrect to describe this difference in perceptual orientation as a change in "world view" because essentially it is not. The Cree culture in Northeastern Manitoba has been and is continuing to go through a period of extremely rapid culture change. Despite the transition to village life, increased missionary pressure, enforced school attendance and most recently the breakdown of community isolation through regular air service and modern communication, a core of cultural identity exists in their ability to maintain a self-image that is distinct from both Euro-Canadians and other Native groups. If that self-image can be perpetuated, they will continue to be a unique cultural group.

Based upon the fact that there is an initial perceptional difference in the interpretation of television between the traditional and acculturated Cree of Oxford House, continued exposure to television can only serve to modify the attitudes of the two groups. A year and a half after the introduction of television to Oxford House many older people stated that they have quit telling"stories" (narratives, myths, and legends) because with the coming of television they are no longer needed for entertainment. The decrease in the transmission of legends is confirmed by middle age informants who state that when they go to visit their older relatives, no one tells "stories" any more because everyone is busy watching television. A decrease in the use of the narrative by the Oxford House Cree constitutes the loss of more than a source of entertainment. It foretells of the demise of an important method of enculturation, for the narrative is the medium by which the Cree express the symbolic relationship between themselves and the world around them. Thus:

> Narration expresses patterned personal symbolism in culture (social-psychological realities): its expressive appeal lies in its perceptually precise rendering of the complex and obscure meanings that are unconsciously abstracted by each individual-in-culture from his relationship with other

individuals or with other phenomena (Preston, 1975,p.21).

Narratives, then, formed the link which enabled an individual in Cree society to maintain a lifelong process of socialization into his culture. The loss of the narrative tradition would mark the end of the means by which the Cree have traditionally passed sanctions of moral individual behaviour and ultimately social control from generation to generation.

The danger of surplanting the traditional narrative with television in a society accustomed to using the narrative as a mode of teaching moral behaviour should be obvious. Television-based behavioural modification of children in Oxford House is widespread. In comparing patterns of play among children before and after the arrival of television a number of factors are immediately evident. Based upon periods of observation of 4- and 5-year-old children in 1974 and 1978-9, the watching of television cuts in half the amount of time spent in non-directed play among peers that was present in the pre-television period. The television viewing for the 4- and 5-year-olds is discontinuous - that is, they will watch for awhile then play for awhile before returning to watch again. The play-watch cycle extends throughout the day for most children as very few families attempt to regulate the programs which children watch. In discussions with mothers who had young children in the period prior to and through the introduction of television, a common change is noted: that is, that the children became more aggressive in play. This increase of aggression is seen as visibly increased body contact in games like "kick ball" and in personal aggression between children, More direct examples of media-stimulated behaviour modification can be noted for older preteen and teenage children. A common pastime for teenage boys in Oxford House is boxing. In 1974, prior to the time when Bruce Lee Kung Fu movies were shown, martial arts fighting stances were not part of the "boxing" behaviour. Late in 1974 and 1975 the first Bruce Lee Kung Fu movies were shown, with a resulting immediate inclusion of Kung Fu in both play and serious aggression situations. Further direct instances of violent behaviour can be tied to television viewing. In the fall of 1978 a group of teenage boys allegedly watched a "violent" western movie on television. After the movie according to friends, the boys sniffed gas. Then, in an intoxicated state, they broke into the Hudson's Bay Company store and stole several shot guns and 22-calibre rifles. With these guns they went to the school, where a group of sportsmen from the United States were staying. The boys first fired at the sportsmen and then at the school officials who came to investigate. Informants describe the boys as assuming very "Clint Eastwood"-like relaxed, ruthless postures (e.g., leaning against a wall with a gun held in one hand. As someone approached the gun wasraised and fired blindly in the general direction without looking to see who it was).Increasing aggression and violence among Cree children is only partially the result of television. It is broadly tied to a whole range of problems related to the increased contact with the outside world. The point is clear however, that specific instances of increased aggression and violence can be tied to television and movies.

Overt aggression and physical violence were traditionally greatly curtailed by the fear of shamanistic reprisal. Hostility though suppressed was ultimately channelled through ". . .highly institutionalized means of covert aggression". . . manifest in the use of sorcery (Hallowell, 1955: p.141).

The exception to the supression of overt hostility was alcohol behaviour. Drunkenness led to the:

> "release from the pattern of emotional restraint permitted the discharge of suppressed hostility in the form of overt physical aggression which in the sober state was inhibited and overlaid by an effective facade of amiablity" (1955,p.2).

Collectively, the Oxford House people have not excessively abused alcohol and thus unlike common stereotypes have restrained alcohol as a release mechanism.

As a result of the supression of alcohol, the traditional Oxford House Cree have maintained sorcery and the fear of it, as a means of social control, hence: "... the emphasis that conjuring and conjuring narrations give to defining and evaluating behaviour" is still important to checking aggression (Preston, 1975:p.277).

If, as evidence indicates, the narrative is being allowed to be replaced by television then the device by which people were formerly taught to channel aggression will be lost. Further it is hypothesized that as television replaces the narrative as an entertainment device it may also replace the narrative as a source of societal norms for young people. The results of that change have already been cited in this paper as examples of increased aggression among young people.

What options, then, are open? First, communities where television has not yet been introduced should be given as much information on the effects of television as possible prior to its introduction. Further, as several Inuit villages already have, others should also be given the option of refusing television. The people of Oxford House were never asked if they indeed wanted television! In communities where television has been introduced, programming will need to be modified to include programs more in keeping with Native values and less violent in scope. During the seventy years since the Oxford House people have signed Treaty Five, they have been constantly barraged with Euro-Canadian culture and technology. Throughout this entire period of change, the Oxford House Cree have had almost no input concerning what new innovations would be introduced into their community. Despite the lack of input the Oxford House people have had regarding the changes that have occurred in economics and education, they have been able to selectively include modifications within their world view. Young people received input from both European and traditional Cree sources, and thus produced a synthesis that was still securely based within their traditional world view.

The introduction of mass communications has, however, brought the Oxford House people into an intense daily contact with Euro-Canadian culture. In no way are they any longer the isolated backwater where formerly a slow culture change was possible. They are now subject to intensive daily exposure to highly persuasive media pressure. In response to this pressure, the elders have ceased to have the ability to influence the youth through the traditional narrative format. Hence, instead of the dualistic input youth formerly received from both traditional Cree and Euro-Canadian elements, they are in increasing danger of only receiving input from the media and Euro-Canadian educators. The result of this biased acculturation of the Cree youth has potentially disastrous implications in that Cree values will no longer be perpetuated via the cultural tradition of the narrative myth or legend.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fowler, H.G., LeMesurier and E. McIntosh. 1949. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English. London. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hallowell, A. Irving. 1942. The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press.

1955. Culture and Experience. New York. Schocken Books.

Hauch, Gordie. 1979. Personal Communication. Mr. Hauch was the Manitoba Telephone Service project engineer who set up the Northern Manitoba radio telephone service. Service was begun on December 20, 1948.

Horner, S.G.L. 1939. "Hudson's Bay Calling." Beaver, Outfit 270, No. 3. Winnipeg. Hudson's Bay Company.

Preston, Richard J. 1975. Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meaning of Events. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada.

Mason, Lenard. 1967. The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation. Ottawa. National Museum of Canada.

1972. A Survey of the Oxford House Region: Population, Minerals Resources. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

Wood, Jack J. 1977. Personal interview. Mr. Wood was the Hudson's Bay Company Manager at Oxford House in 1948 and 1949.

PART III

PRESENTATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Gary Granzberg
Cecil Pereira
Christopher Hanks and Gary Granzberg
Nancy Hanks

CHAPTER 10

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF TELEVISION AMONG ALGONKIANS OF CENTRAL CANADA

by

Gary Granzberg

INTRODUCTION

Though the psychological impact of television in developing areas may encompass a plethora of conditions, interest, quite understandably, has focused upon stress and modernization. This chapter presents our findings in these two areas. We shall examine stress (Berry 1976) within the domains of aggression, feelings of victimization, and projection of negative feelings into human relationships. We shall examine modernization (Berry 1976; Schramm 1964A) within the domains of in-group versus out-group identity, concrete-situational versus general-abstract orientation, and open versus closed self-concept. We will test the hypothesis that the introduction of television into a developing community increases both stress and modernization.

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

A. Design

Three communities (A*, B** & C***) were chosen for study. Communities A & B are northern Manitoba Cree communities and Community C is an urban Euro-Canadian southern Manitoba community.

At the start of research in 1972 there was no television in Communities A & B. Community C, however, already had twenty years of television exposure. During the course of the investigation (in late 1973), the government and the C.B.C., through microwave, brought one channel (the C.B.C.) to certain northern Manitoba communities, including Community B. Community A remained without television, however, until 1977 when, it also began receiving the telecasts of the C.B.C. Thus Community B became the experimental community and Community A became the control community.

A longitudinal design was employed in which tests were administered to subjects in the pre-television period and readministered to the same subjects (plus 19 supplementary subjects in Community A) in the post-television period. The testing began in 1973.

---

* Oxford House
** Norway House
*** Winnipeg

This initial testing established the pre-television levels of personality in the Cree children and also the baseline Euro-Canadian norms. The tests were readministered in all three communities in 1975, one and one-half years after television had entered Community B. Results from this second period of testing provided an assessment of the change in behaviour in the immediate post-television period.

The tests were administered a third time in 1977 to communities A & B. At this time Community B children had 4 years of television exposure while Community A children were still relatively unexposed to television, having received their first telecasts 4 months previously. Results of this testing assessed the longer range effects of television in Community B. A fourth administration of the test battery to Community A occurred in 1978, one and one-half years after this control community received television. These results provided a replication of novelty period effects.

B. Sample

In all three communities the subjects were, at the beginning, 3rd, 4th and 5th grade boys. The number of subjects in each community was limited to 50 due to time limitations. With this relatively small sample size it was felt advisable to keep a homogeneous sex makeup rather than further reducing the working size of the sample in each community to two sex-divided groups of 25. Thus only males were tested.

The sample in each of the Native communities consisted of all the 3rd, 4th and 5th grade boys in school at the time of testing. The Euro-Canadian sample was drawn from a school in a working class area and consisted of all boys in the classes tested. There were 45 boys tested in Community A (only 26 of these were tested in the pre-television period), 45 in Community B, and 46 in Community C. The average age in each community was 9.7.

C. Instruments

The major instrument was a questionnaire consisting of 49 sentence completions and 10 photographic TAT's (see appendix). All items were composed by the author and many were pre-tested in another Native reserve. It was felt that pre-existing standardized TAT's and sentence completions were not suitable for Cree children due to unfamiliar words and situations. Thus items were either re-worked or created afresh so that they depicted situations familiar to Native children and, at the same time, also suitable for Euro-Canadians.

Other instruments employed included an accuracy of time estimation test and a delay-of-gratification test. A more detailed description of these instruments will be presented as we present our findings with respect to each personality trait under investigation.

D. Procedure

In Communities B and C the test battery was administered to each child individually, in private, and in English. In the pre-television period half of the subjects of Community A were tested in private and in their own language by a Native researcher trained by the author. The other half were tested as a group in the classroom - all students simultaneously recording their own responses in English. Since no significant differences appeared in the mean scores of the two groups, and since the Native researcher reported that the structure of the questions were such that the students could actually, in most cases, understand them better in English than in Cree, all Community A subjects were tested in English and in unison in the post-television periods.

Supplemental testing in all three communities occurred periodically to explore particular areas of interest. For example, questionnaires were composed which asked children and adults their subjective impressions of television and their favourite and least favourite programs and characters as well as the number of hours they watched television. This data was also probed through informal interviewing. In addition, extensive participant observation research was conducted in both Cree communities throughout the investigation.

The scoring was done blind by the author and his trained assistants. Reliability scores of 81% were obtained on one-third of the material.

FINDINGS

A. Stress Factors

1. Aggressive retaliation

a. Cree traditions

The traditional Cree practice in the area of reacting to an offense is to control emotion and bide one's time (Preston 1971; Hallowell 1955). Children are still taught this pattern and our data suggest that it is acquired gradually over time as the child matures.

b. instruments and scoring

Aggressive retaliation scores were derived from responses to seven sentence completions. Included among these were "What would you do if someone kicked you?", "What would you do if someone called you a name?", "What would you do if someone threw a stone at you and hit you with it?" Responses were scored according to whether they indicated a preference to ignore the provocation, run away from it, or seek help (these all being scored as non-aggressive) or a preference to retaliate in kind.

c. results

(1) There is a negative correlation between age and amount of aggression (see table 1).

TABLE 1
Average Aggressive Retaliation Scores Over
All Testing Periods According to Age

	8 years	9 years	10 years	11 years
Experimental Community		3.1	2.9	2.3
Control Community	4.2	3.9	3.2	4.1

(2) Relative to the control group there was increasing aggression at the experimental community after the arrival of television. This effect was not replicated at the control community after it received television. They continued a trend toward less aggression (see table 2).

(a). novelty effects (Test 1 to Test 2)

The presence of television did not effect community-wide scores. However, within the experimental community, exposure to high or low amounts of television viewing did seem to have an effect. When the scores of matched pairs of subjects from the control community and from hi or lo exposed groups at the experimental community are compared[with regression error of .5 incorporated (See Lindzey, p. 280)] significant differences emerge.

TABLE 2
Average Aggressive Retaliation Scores in each Testing Period According to Amount of Exposure to Television

	Test 1			Test 2			Test 3			Test 4		
	No TV in either community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community			Control Community has had TV for 1½ years		
	All*	Hi**	Lo***	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo
Experimental Community	2.9	2.6	3.2	3.0	3.8	2.4	3.2	3.3	3.1			
Control Community	4.2			4.3			3.9	4.3	3.7	3.2	2.9	3.4

* average score of all subjects in the community

** average score of hi exposed subjects only

*** average score of lo exposed subjects only

(1) control vs. hi-exposed group (According to pairing procedure no differences are to be expected in second test scores).

Mean second test score of Control = 3.0 (N= 6
Var= .8)
Mean second test score of Hi-Exposed Group in Experimental Community = 4.0 (N= 6
Var= 2.0)
t=1.35
$p < .10$

(2) control vs lo-exposed group (Pairing procedure again leads to expectation of no difference between the second test scores of these two groups).

Mean second test score of Controls= 4.0 (N= 7
Var= 2.6)
Mean second test score of Lo-exposed Group in Experimental Community = 2.6 (N= 7
Var= 4.0)
t=1.35
$p < .10$

(b) longer range effects (test 1 to test 3)

Over the long range, while the effects of exposure levels were less pronounced than in the novelty period (see table 2), the effects of television's overall presence or absence were more pronounced. The community-wide scores of the exposed group showed a greater gain in aggression than the scores of the control group.

Mean change in Aggression Scores of
Experimental Group from Test 1 to Test 3=+.5(N=33
S.D.= 2.25)
Mean change in Aggression Scores of
Control Group from Test 1 to Test 3 =-.4(N=16
S.D.= 2.4)
$t= 1.23$
$p < .10$

(c) novelty effects at control community (test 3 to test 4)

Neither in the exposure data nor in the overall community-wide data is there any replication of the novelty effects at the experimental community. It seems that the control community was largely unaffected by television and continued its pattern of progressively becoming less and less aggressive (see table 2).

d. discussion

A cultural factor seems to be at work in conditioning the impact of television upon aggression in these two communities. This is most apparent in the comparative novelty effect in each community. While the experimental community showed a rise in aggressive retaliation among the hi-exposed and a fall in aggressive retaliation among the low-exposed, the control community showed a fall in aggression among both its hi- and lo-exposed subjects, but most emphatically among the hi. Thus it seems television produced opposite effects. At one the hi rapidly gained in aggression and at the other the hi just as rapidly fell in aggression.

The explanation is probably to be found in the integration and solidarity of the two communities. While cultural meanings of television and acculturation pressures predispose Cree children generally to be exceedingly susceptible to becoming infatuated with television's aggressive hero figures, our data suggests that an integrated community may counteract those proclivities (at least for a time). The experimental community with its larger size, active Métis community, and easy access to Euro cities, is less well integrated and solidary than the control community. It could not dissuade the impulsive hi-exposed from imitating televised behaviour and displaying an aggressive attitude. The community's warnings, however, were heeded by the lo-exposed who were able to employ high emotional control ability to reject television (at least in the initial period).

In contrast, when television arrived in the control community, a pentecostal type fervor swept the community into a united front which surmounted the aggressive tendencies of even the most uncontrolled (the hi-exposed) and produced a continuation of the traditional trend toward ever decreasing levels of aggression.

The data indicates then that a community, if well integrated, may be able to withstand television's onslaught in the area of aggression (at least in the short range). But if factionalized and unintegrated, it may be unable to control the general Cree child's proneness to be infatuated with macho super heroes and to imitate that kind of behaviour.

This is what has occurred at the experimental community. Children (especially hi-exposed) are being prodded by television into developing behaviour which is contrary to traditional child development. Whereas cross-sectional scores in both communities show a negative correlation between age and aggression and whereas the longitudinal scores of the control community show a progressive decline in aggression, the longitudinal scores of the exposed group become progressively more aggressive. This not only indicates that these children are experiencing stress but it indicates as well that their behaviour is a great source of stress for the community as a whole.

2. Victimization

a. Cree traditions

Negativism in assessing situations is a traditional approach. It was an integral part of child rearing (Hallowell 1955; Granzberg 1978). Fear was a weapon used to keep children home at night and under control. They were taught to beware of dangers.

b. instruments and scoring

Victimization scores were derived from responses to seven sentence completions. Included among these were "Two boys were hunting when something happened. What happened". "A girl was baby-sitting when something happened. What happened.", "The boy was running because ...?" Responses were scored according to whether or not a situation of confrontation with danger was imagined. The more such dangers were imagined, the higher the victimization score.

c. results

Relative to the control group, there were decreasing fears of victimization at the experimental community after the arrival of television, but no similar effect was observable at the control community after it received television (see table 3).

TABLE 3
Average Victimization Fear Score in Each Testing
Period and According to Amount of Television Exposure

	Test 1			Test 2			Test 3			Test 4		
	No TV in either community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community			Control Community has had TV for 1½ years		
	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo
Experimental Community	3.8	3.3	4.0	3.3	3.3	3.2	2.5	2.6	2.4			
Control Community	2.7			2.4			2.3	2.5	1.9	2.8	2.8	2.7

(1) novelty effects (Test 1 to Test 2)

There were no overall novelty effects but there was a trend for the lo-exposed at the experimental community to reduce victimization fear more than hi-exposed (see table 3).

(2) longer range effects (Test 1 to Test 3)

As a whole, the experimental community became significantly less fearful of victimization than the control community. This effect was most profound among the lo-exposed members of the experimental community.

(a) overall data

Mean change in victimization Scores
Among Experimental Group = -1.2 (N=33
Var= 2.3)
Mean change in victimization Scores
Among Control Group = -.5 (N=16
Var= 3.9)
t= 1.35
$p < .10$

(b) exposure data

Mean changes in victimization Scores of Lo TV Group
in Experimental Community = -1.5 (N=17
Var= 2.4)
Mean changes in victimization Scores of Control Group
= -5 (N=16
Var= 3.9)
t= 1.59
$p < .10$

(3) novelty effects at control community (Test 3 to Test 4)

There is no indication of any decline in fear of victimization at the Control Community in the first 1½ years after it received television. If anything, compared to the experimental community, the effects were reversed. There may have been increasing fears and particularly among lo-exposed (see table 3).

d. discussion

The overall data suggests that there is a correlation between victimization scores and aggressive retaliation scores. When victimization scores fall, aggression scores rise and when victimization scores rise, aggression scores fall. A correlation of -.71 is found between overall victimization scores and overall aggression scores.

It appears that when a community is successful in instituting the traditional fears, it can have success in counteracting the aggression inducing potential of television. But when it fails to induce fears, perhaps because community solidarity cannot overcome television's revelations about the world and about the future (i.e. cannot overcome its usefulness analogous to the shaman's power to conjur - a power which gave the shaman fearlessness), it fails in counteracting television's aggression-inducing potential.

Since this future orientation, news revelation aspect of television is most closely suited to the emotional potentials of the lo-exposed (see pages 342-346 where lo are shown to be most time-oriented and most long range and control oriented), it is understandable that they are the most affected by television, both in the sense of being the primary ones in the experimental community who were using television information to increase feelings of power and control and being the ones in the control community who had the most potential for deviance in this area and who were most clearly dissuaded from realizing this potential of television.

3. Stress in Human Relationships

a. Cree traditions

Traditionally, Cree were trained for smooth co-operative human relationships. Sharing and family solidarity were paramount concerns. There were tensions between the needs for co-operation and the needs for independence, but there was a strong attempt to maintain surface amicability.

b. instruments and scoring

Stress in human relationships scores were derived from responses to four photographs (See Figs. 1 - 4). Subjects were asked "What is happening?"; "What are they thinking about?". If subjects saw amicable thoughts and relationships, no stress was scored. But if they envisioned negative relationships or thoughts the response was scored as indicative of stress.

c. results

The data indicates that relative to the control group, the experimental group increased their tendency to impute stressful human relationships after television arrived. This effect is discernable both in the novelty and longer range periods and also at the control community after it received television. There is also a suggestion that lo's were most effected, at least in the novelty period (see table 4).

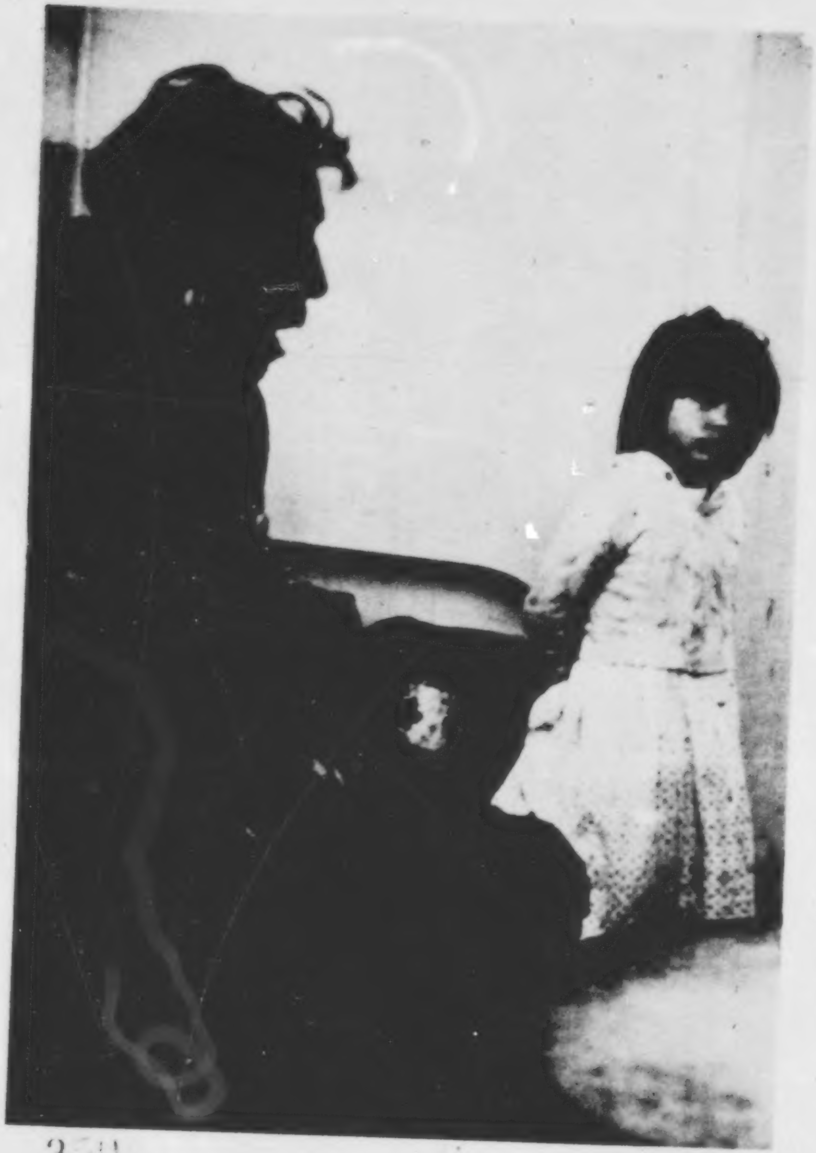


Fig. 1

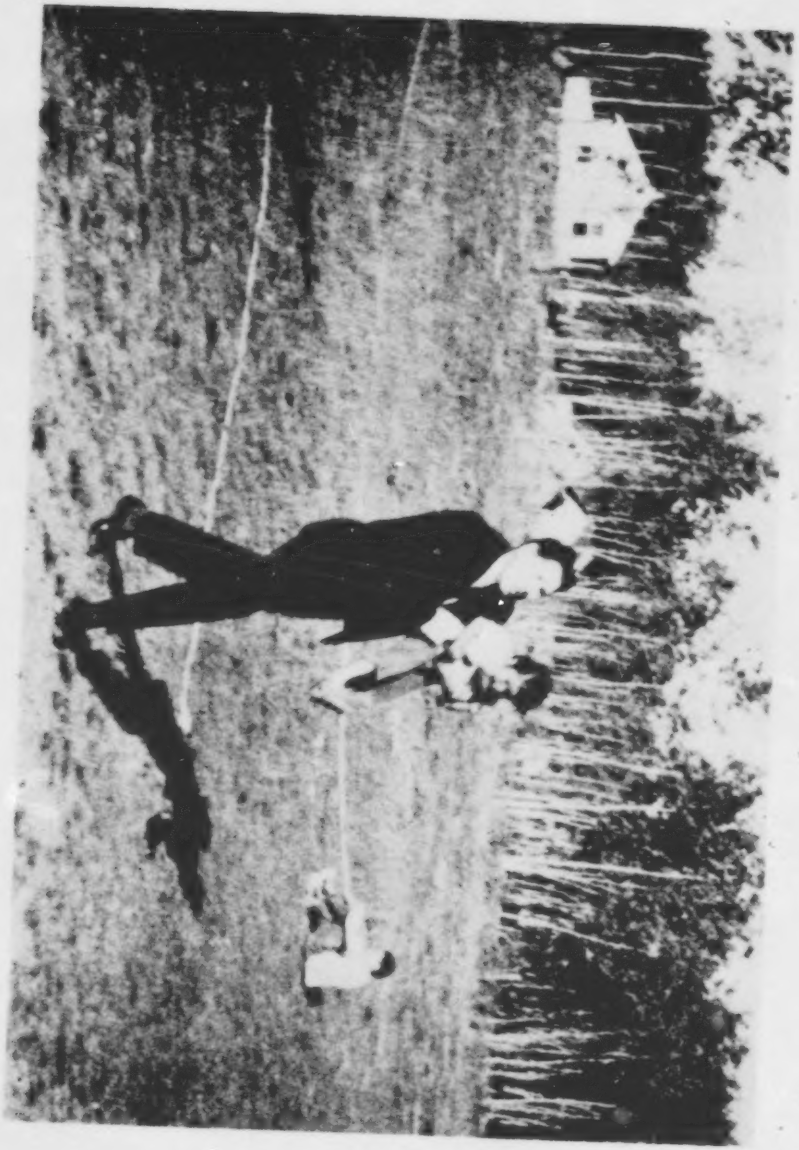


Fig. 2

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

TABLE 4
Average Number of Times Subjects Imagine Positive Relationships Between People

	Test 1			Test 2			Test 3			Test 4		
	No TV in either community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community			Control Community has had TV for 1½ years		
	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo
Experimental Community	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.7	2.1	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.3			
Control Community	1.8			2.3			2.3	1.8	2.2	1.6	1.6	2.0

(1) novelty effects (Test 1 to Test 2)

Mean Change at Experimental Community = −.1 (N=40 Var= 2.1)

Mean Change at Control Community = +.4 (N=22 Var= .97)
t= 1.36
$p < .10$

(2) longer range effects – (Test 1 to Test 3)

Mean Change Experimental Community = −.3 (N=38 Var= 1.4)
t= 1.15
$p < .20$

Mean Change at Control Community =+.06 (N=18 Var= 1.6)

(3) novelty effects at control community (Test 3 to Test 4)

Mean Score at Test 3 =2.3 (N=38 Var=1.4)

Mean Score at Test 4 =1.6 (N=25 Var= .6)
t= 2.59
$p < .01$

d. discussion

This data indicates that human relationships underwent extra strain in both communities after the arrival of television.

4. Summary of findings on television's impact upon stress

Our data confirms our initial hypothesis that the introduction of television into a Native community will produce stress. But we have discovered that the nature of that stress varies according to the level of integration and solidarity in the community. Where integration is low, stress centers around increasing aggression. Where integration is high, stress centers upon increasing fears of being victimized. In both cases, increasing strain in human relationships is produced and is reflected in increasing imputations of negativity in human relationships.

B. Modernization Factors

1. In-group vs out-group identity

a. in-group vs. out-group identity in the use of the words "Canadian" and "Canada"

(1) instruments and scoring: Scoring is based upon responses to the questions which follow:

(i) What is a Canadian?
(ii) What is Canada?
(iii) Do you live in Canada?
(iv) Is your community in Canada?
(v) Is Canada in your community?
(vi) Are you a Canadian?

(2) results

Relative to the control group, the experimental group exhibits a modest increase in identity with the out-group. The data further suggest that the effect may have repeated itself in the control community after it received television (see table 5).

TABLE 5
Percentage of Subjects Who Show High Out-Group Identity

	Test 1	Test 3	Test 4
Experimental Community	47%	66%	
Control Community	57%	69%	88%

A breakdown of the responses to question 1 ("What is a Canadian?") shows some interesting evidence of the nature of the gain in out-group identity that occurred (see table 6).

TABLE 6
Percent Who Identify or Do Not Identify with Out-Group in Responding to Question "What is a Canadian?"

	Type of Response	Experimental Community		Control Community		
		Test 1 No TV	Test 3 TV for 4 yrs	Test 1 No TV	Test 3 No TV	Test 4 TV for 1½ yrs
Identity with Out-Group	Person who lives in Canada; People born in Canada; Citizen of Canada	6%	52%	14%	45%	78%
Non-Identity with Out-Group	White Man; Talks English; Mounties; Boss; Englishman	9%	3%	11%	18%	4%
	A Beer	11%	3%	0%	0%	0%
	A Hockey Player or team	4%	0%	4%	0%	0%

Relative to the control community, the experimental community improved its original tendency to consider a beer, hockey player, or authority figure as the most relevant definition of "What is a Canadian". While the control group showed an overall improvement of 28% in identity with out-group, the experimental community improved by 64%. When television entered the control community, it improved its out-group identity by 47%.

b. similarity to out-group in responding to questions

(1) instruments and scoring

Responses by the experimental and control communities to the 39 sentence completion items in our questionnaire were tabulated to determine, for each community, the percent of subjects who responded to items in the way that was most popular among a reference group of same age Euro-Canadians.

(2) results

There is no indication that the experimental group, relative to the control group, became more similar to the out-group in responding to questions after the arrival of television. Nor is there any indication of a modernizing effect at the control community after it received television (see table 7).

TABLE 7

Percent Subjects Who Respond to Items in the Way that is Most Popular Among Euro-Canadians

	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3	Test 4
	No TV in either community	Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community	Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community	Control Community has had TV for 1½ years
Experimental Community	54%	74%	60%	
Control Community	46%	60%	66%	66%

c. importance of in-group vs. out-group as role models

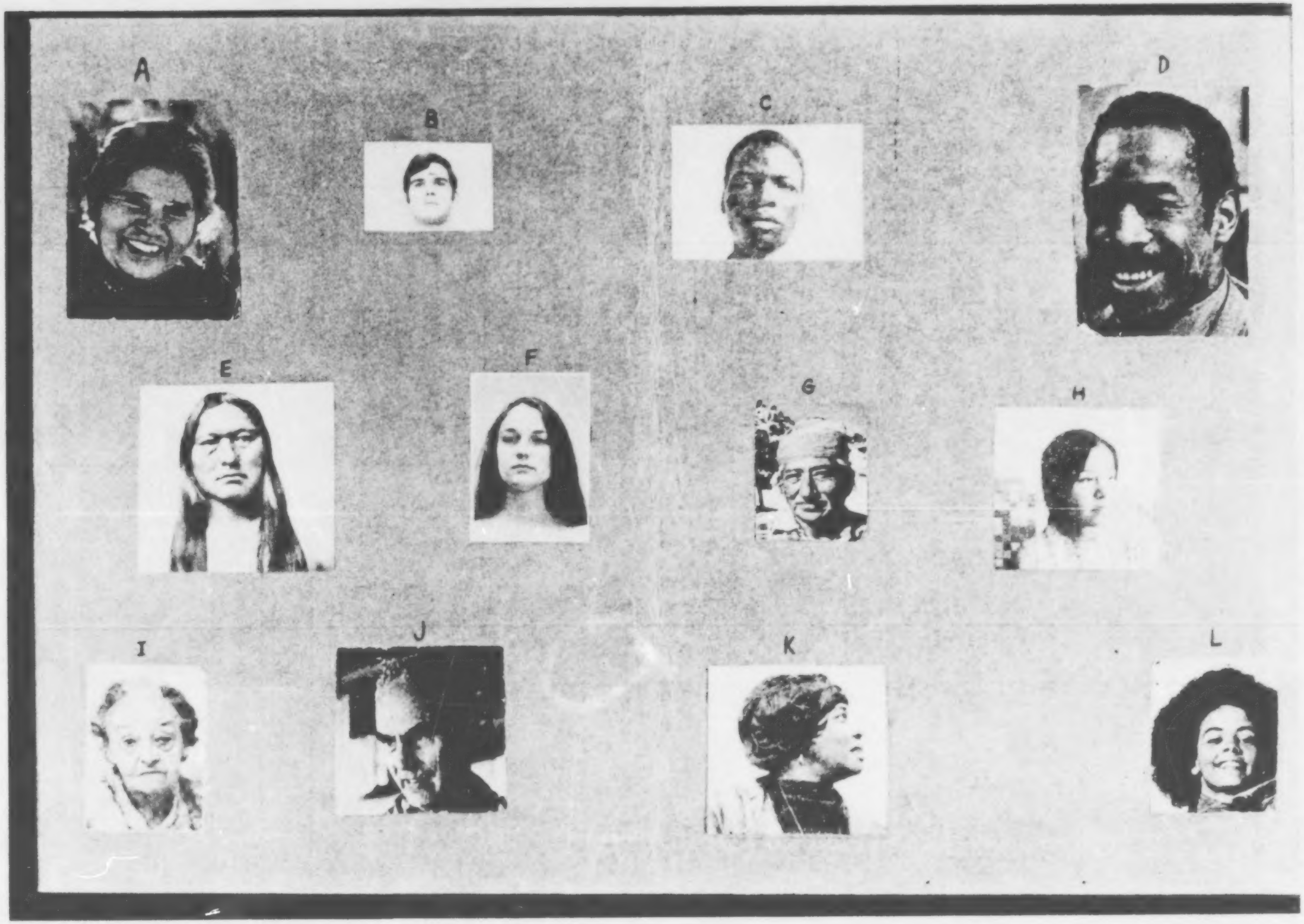
(1) instruments and scoring

Subjects were individually shown twelve pictures all on one page (see figure 5). The pictures were of male and female adults of caucasoid, negroid, and Indian heritage. Subjects were then asked the following questions:

1. Let's pretend that one of these people is a bad person who has captured another person. Then a good person comes to save the one who has been captured.
   (a) Who is the bad person?
   (b) Who is the good person?
   (c) Who is saved?

Figure 5

Photographs used to assess the relative importance of in-group vs. out-group as role models.



Photographs Used in Ethnic Stereotyping Test

2. If we were to pretend that some of these people are villains who want to kill somebody, who are the villains?

3. Who are the ones who are killed by the villains?

The answers to these questions were then tabulated according to the percentage of time subjects chose in-group or out-group to fill the various fantasy roles.

(2) results

There is decided evidence of increasing out-group identity at the experimental community after the arrival of television, and the effect seemed to repeat itself at the control community after it received television. The category that was most effected (i.e. where in-group identity fell the most and out-group identity increased the most) was the category of the hero or good person and it was the caucasian, not the black, who rose the most in this category at the expense of the Native (see table 8).

TABLE 8
Percentage of In-Group Chosen as Role Models

	Test 1		Test 3		Test 4
	No TV at Either Community		TV in Experimental Community for 4 years- no TV in Control Community		TV in Control Community for 1½ years -
Category	Exp.C	Control C	Exp.C	Control C	Control C
Bad	27%	15%	46%	51%	48%
Good	32%	46%	19%	57%	32%
Saved	22%	23%	22%	35%	28%
Killer	30%	54%	38%	62%	36%
Killed	22%	39%	22%	41%	28%
Overall Categories	27%	35%	29%	49%	34%

At Test 1 (before the arrival of television in either community) there was no significant difference in percentage who chose in-group for role models. The experimental community chose in-group 27% of the time and the control community chose in-group 35% of the time. But after four years of watching television, the experimental community, relative to the control, decreased its interest in the in-group as role models. They then chose in-group 29% of the time while the control community chose in-group 49% of the time. This difference is significant beyond the .05 level.

When the control community received television, its preference for in-group as role models fell considerably (from 49% to 34%).

d. summary and discussion of television effects on in-group vs. out-group identity

Overall, the evidence suggests strongly that there was increasing out-group identity after the arrival of television and that this effect was not counteracted by solidarity factors.

While the data indicates that the meanings of words like "Canada" and "Canadian" were effected and interest in out-group increased, there is also evidence that increases in out-group identity after four years of television watching were not strong enough to effect the pattern of thought that was addressed to complex ideas such as were found in sentence completion items or, presumably, daily conversation.

2. Concrete-situational vs general-abstract orientation

a. Cree traditions

Cree traditionally focused upon concrete-situational orientations to the problems of the world (Granzberg 1976). In a stable system memory and detail serves well as a frame of reference. In a changing system, however, such as that found in urban, industrialized society, reliance upon memory, detail and concrete pre-arranged solutions to problems is disadvantageous, for adjustment entails versatile adaptability. It requires a person able to adjust to ways of making a living which, perhaps, were never even conceived of by the parental generation. In this situation, general-abstract solutions are more efficient than concrete, situation-specific solutions. Hence modernization is, in part, the development of generalized-abstract orientations to the world (Munroe).

b. instruments and scoring.

There were four measures:

(1) Short vs long range orientation: The tendency to complete an ambiguous thought with reference to short range or long range goals.

(2) Particularity of body conception: The tendency to refer to a part of the body rather than the body as a whole when reference to the body is made.

(3) Delay of Gratification: The ability to delay gratification and to wait for a large reward rather than selecting the alternative of a smaller but more immediate reward.

(4) Timing Accuracy : The ability to accurately estimate a pre-determined length of time.

c. findings

(1) short vs long range orientation

(a) scoring

Scores were derived from responses to three ambiguous uncompleted sentences which could be completed either by reference to long range goals or to short range goals. The three sentence completion items were:

(1) "The man wanted to shoot a moose, but he couldn't find any, so he ...?"
(2) "A boy was walking in the bush and then he came to a stream. What did he do then?"
(3) "The man wanted to chop some more wood but it was starting to get dark so he ...?"

Each subject received a score equal to the number of long range responses less number of short range ones.

(b) results

Relative to the control group, there was increasing short range orientation at the experimental community, especially among the hi-exposed and especially in the novelty period after the arrival of television. There is evidence of a similar result at the control community after it received television (see table 9).

TABLE 9

Short vs. Long Range Orientation*

	Test 1			Test 2			Test 3			Test 4		
	No TV in either community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community			Control Community has had TV for 1½ years		
	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo
Experimental Community	-.02**	-.11	-.05	-.40	-.67	-.16	-.03	-.13	-.06			
Control Community	-.20			-.05			-.18	0	-.36	-.05	-.20	+.18

* The more negative the score the greater the short range orientation
** Ave. no. of long range responses less ave. no. of short range ones

(I) novelty effects (Test 1 to Test 2)

Relative to the control group, the exposed group has increased its short range orientation and especially among hi-exposed.

(A) Control Group vs. Exposed Group - Mean scores at second test listed below incorporate 19 matched pairs who, according to a regression coefficient of .7, are expected to have identical second test scores (presuming no effects due to presence or absence of television).

Mean second test score of exposed group= -.48 (N=19
Var= .4)

Mean second test score of control group= -.11 (N=19
Var= .8)
t= 1.48
p< .20

(b) Control group vs hi-exposed experimental group subjects (Same testing procedure as above)

Mean second test score of hi-exposed = -.6 (N=10
Var= .3)

Mean second test score of control = +.1 (N=10
Var= .7)
t= 2.41
$p < .05$

(II) longer range effects (Test 1 to Test 3)

There are no significant long range effects (see table 9).

(III) novelty effects at control community (Test 3 to Test 4)

Data on hi-exposed subjects replicate effect in novelty period at experimental community (see table 9).

(IV) summary and discussion of television effects upon short vs long range orientation

The data suggest that no modernization occurred. In the novelty period, in fact, television may have reinforced traditional concrete perspectives.

(2) particularity of body conception

(a) scoring

Scores were derived from responses to the question "The man was sick because ...?" Responses which referred to a part of the body which was afflicted (e.g. ..."he broke his leg") rather than an overall disease (..."he had a cold") were scored as particularistic responses.

(b) results

There are no modernization effects discernible in the data see table 10).

TABLE 10
Percent Subjects Who Refer to Particular Part of Body

	Test 1			Test 2			Test 3			Test 4		
	No TV in either community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community			Control Community has had TV for 1½ years		
Experimental Community		6%			2%			3%				
Control Community		14%			7%			5%			0%	

(3) delay of gratification

(a) scoring

Upon completion of testing, subjects were told that they could have a candy bar as a reward. They were given the option of taking one candy bar immediately or waiting a week and then having two candy bars.

(b) results

There is a consistent cross-sectional difference between hi-and lo-exposed subjects. Hi-exposed subjects at all three testings are more likely to take one bar right away than lo-exposed subjects. No television effects are discernible(see table 11).

TABLE 11
Ability to Delay Gratification

		Test 1			Test 2			Test 3		
		No TV in Either Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community		
		All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo
Experimental Community	Delayers	8	1	7	18	6	11	10	3	7
	Non-Delayers	23	13	10	22	12	8	23	13	10
Control Community	Delayers	1								
	Non-Delayers	11								

(4) timing accuracy

(a) scoring

Subjects were asked to estimate a 30-second span of time. Their accuracy was measured by a stop watch.

(b) results

The data suggest that lo-exposed may be better at estimating a pre-set span of time than hi-exposed. No television effects are discernible (see table 12).

TABLE 12
Accuracy in Estimating a 30-Second Span of Time

	Test 1			Test 2			Test 3		
	No TV in either community			Experimental Group has had TV for 1½ years No TV yet in Control Community			Experimental Group has had TV for 4 years No TV yet in Control Community		
	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo	All	Hi	Lo
Experimental Community	5.4*	5.3	5.2	5.7	5.6	5.9	4.9	5.1	4.6
Control Community	3.9								

*4.0 = estimate in error by 6-10 seconds
5.0 = estimate in error by 11-20 seconds
6.0 = estimate in error by 21-30 seconds

d. Summary and discussion of effects of television upon concrete-situational vs. general-abstract orientations

Television seems to act as a catalyst upon previously present concrete or general tendencies. Where the tendency is toward concreteness (as among hi-exposed subjects) television increases those tendencies, but where orientation may be more general-abstract, more toward control of emotion (as among lo-exposed subjects) television seems to increase those trends. This is consistent with other research (especially aggression research) which shows that television may act as a catalyst for pre-set emotional states.

3. Open vs. closed self-concept

a. Cree traditions

Traditionally, Cree were closed and stoic. One interpretation (Preston) of this is in terms of economics. It is held to be an efficient stance to take when there is constant necessity to deal with potentially fear provoking, incapacitating dangers or accidents while on the hunt or in other domains of activity in a food gathering society. A comparison of open vs. closed self concepts in two Cree communities and a Euro-Canadian community (Thorlakson P.87) shows that the Euro-Canadian community is more open than the Cree communities. Modernization, therefore, should consist of more open self concepts.

b. instruments and scoring

Self concept scores were derived from analysis of drawings subjects made when asked to draw a man. The scoring system is analyzed in detail in our second report (Thorlakson, pp.80-85). In essence, open self concept is scored when drawings depict detail, when they are large, and when they are frontal and centered.

c. findings

Only novelty period data is available. It suggests that television has increased open self concept. Whereas the experimental group's scores became 14% more open, the control group's scores get 8% more open (see table 13).

TABLE 13
Percentage of Responses that Were Scored as Reflecting an Open Self-Concept

	Test 1	Test 2
Experimental Community	38%	52%
Control Community	44%	52%
Euro-Canadian Community	47%	57%

4. Overall summary and discussion of television effects upon modernization

The hypothesis that the introduction of television into a Native community will spur modernization has been only partially confirmed. The data suggest that there are areas where modernization occurs and that there are areas where just the opposite happens. Modernization is seen to take place in word usage, in increased role modelling with out-group, and in the development of more open self concepts. Traditionalization, however, may occur with respect to increasing concrete-situational orientations, especially among hi- exposed subjects. The idiom of thought used to address conceptual questions does not modernize.

CONCLUSION

The data confirm the hypothesis that the introduction of television into a Native community produces stress. The data only partially support the hypothesis that television modernizes. In both cases the exact nature of television's impact could not have been predicted by extrapolating from prior research. The most applicable generalization from the literature is that television's impact is highly conditioned by pre-existing dispositions in the viewing audience.

In the case of stress, we have seen that a solidary, integrated community may overcome television's aggression inducing potential and swerve children toward a more traditional, non-aggressive stance. We have seen that a less integrated community may be unable to sway the more impulsive ones and may have increasing levels of aggression with which to deal. Stress is created in both cases. But in the one it is due to heightened pressure for caution and wariness while in the other it is due to the burden of dealing with abnormal levels of aggressive attitude.

These data are consistent with the view that a major impact shaping role is played by the meanings imparted to television by pre-existing traditions of communication. Analogies to dreaming and conjuring (traditional Cree techniques for accomplishing live-long-distance communication) give television meanings which make it highly relevant to a Cree child's search for identity and guidance. Where these analogies are not qualified with effective cautions , as in the less integrated community, television models and information produce the heightened aggression and lowered victimization fears that are observed.

But when these analogies are qualified with effective cautions - - when children are consistently warned that television may be evil, that it is bad conjuring by the White Man, that it is like an evil shaman's soul-stealing shaking tent and should therefore be rejected, then the introduction of television produces the heightened fears and decreasing levels of aggression that are observed in the integrated community.

It seems, however, in the case of modernization, that cautions are not enough to override the great status enhancement of the out-group

Figure 6 (upper left)

Community A Cree children recording responses to author's questionnaire (photo by Granzberg)

Figure 7 (upper right)

Author administering the questionnaire to Cree youth in Community B (photo by Clinton Wheeler)

Figure 8 (bottom)

Combined Grade School, Junior and Senior High School in Community B. (photo by Granzberg)

produced by television. As a result, regardless of the integration level of the community, children increase their identity with the out-group but not enough to modernize the basic idiom of thought addressed to complex issues nor enough to alter the basic concrete-situational orientation used to deal with the world.

References

Berry, J. W. 1976 — "Psychological Studies of Telecommunications" in J. C. Beal et al. Interdisciplinary Study of Telecommunications, Final Report, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1976, pp.236-237; 247.

Granzberg, Gary 1976 — "A Comparison of Children's Values in a Traditional Cree Community, an Acculturated Cree Community and a Euro-Canadian Community" in William Cowan (ed.) Papers of the Seventh Algonkian Conference, Carlton University, 1976, p.6.

Granzberg, Gary 1978 — "A Cree Example of the Revelational Meanings of Symbols in Myth". Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol.viii, Nos. 2, 3, 4.

Hallowell, A. I. 1955 — Culture and Experience. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 132-134.

Lindzey, Gardiner — Handbook of Social Psychology, 1st Ed., Vol.1, Cambridge, Mass., Addison- Wesly.

Munrce, Robert L. and Munroe, Ruth 1975 — Cross-Cultural Human Development, Monterey, Calif. Brooks/Cole, 1975, pp.85-90.

Preston, R.J. 1971 — Cree Narration: An Expression of the Personal Meaning of Events. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1971. pp.177-178.

Schramm, W. 1960 — "Television in the Life of the Child - Implications for the School". In Institute for Communication Research, New Teaching Aids for the American Classroom. Stanford, Cal., pp. 50-70.

1964 A — Mass Media and National Development. Stanford, Cal., Stanford U. Press.

1964 B — The Effects of TV on Children and Adolescents. INESCO #43.

Thorlakson, L., and G.R. Granzberg 1975 — "Draw-a-Man Analysis" in Hamer et al. Second Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North, University of Winnipeg Press, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1975.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Demographic Data:

1. Name
2. Age & Birthday
3. Grade

B. Time test - Direction: "I want to see if you know how long 30 seconds is. I'm going to start this watch and when you think 30 seconds have gone by you tell me to 'stop'. All right, here we go."

1. Trial A
2. Trial B (after Trial A a demonstration of a thirty second time span on the stop watch is provided and then subject tries again on Trial B).

C. Sentence Completions & TAT'S

Instructions: I am going to ask you some questions — but you won't know the answers -- You should make up an answer — You can make up any kind of answer you like.

1. You are playing outside when you see your parents leaving the house to go somewhere. They ask you if you want to go with them or if you want to stay and play. What do you decide to do?

2. A boy and his father are walking together in the bush. The father tells the boy to go get some wood. The boy starts to go but he comes to a tall fence which looks hard to climb. What does he do, does he get his father to help him or does

he try to climb over all by himself?

3. A boy is sent to the Bay to get some bread, but when he goes there he sees another boy there who wants to beat him up. So what does he do?

   a. try to go in anyway

   b. run away

   c. fight him

   d. get father

4. One day a little boy's father brings him home a kite. What does the boy do? Does he make the kite himself or does he get his father to help him? (Does he fly it himself or does his father help him fly it?)

5. A little boy goes to the Bay with his parents and they give him some money to spend. What does he do — he's not sure what to buy. Does he decide how to spend the money all by himself or does he get his parents to help him decide how to spend the money?

6. Pretend you are playing catch with another boy when somebody takes your ball and runs away with it. What do you do?

7. Pretend you have a new pair of skates. You leave them outside your house - then you see somebody come and take them. What do you do?

   a. run after him

   b. let him go

c. tell father

8. What would you do if someone kicked you?

9. What would you do if someone called you a bad name?

10. What would you do if someone threw a stone at you and hit you with it?

11. You were trying to open the door, but it wouldn't open, so you ________________________________.

12. Someone was chasing you, and then ________________________.

13. The boy broke his bow and arrow so then he ________________.

14. You laughed when a funny thing happened. What was it?

15. You were sad because __________________________________.

16. You got mad when _____________________________________.

17. You were happy because _________________________________.

18. The man was sick because ________________________________.

19. The man was bad so what happened to him?

20. You wanted to be a good hunter so you _____________________.

21. Someone got a spanking because __________________________.

22. The man wanted to go hunting but couldn't find his gun so he ______________________________________.

23. The man wanted to shoot a moose, but he couldn't find any so he ______________________________.

24. The man didn't want to get sick so he ______________.

25. The man wanted to chop some more wood but it was starting to get dark so he ______________________________.

26. You were playing when somebody pushed you down so you ____.

27. The mother ran outside because ______________________.

28. You were mad at him so you ______________________.

29. The boy got lost so he ______________________.

30. The boy was running because ______________________.

31. They were starting to fight so you ______________.

32. The boy was crying because ______________________.

33. A boy was walking in the bush and then he came to a stream — What did he do then?

34. The house was on fire so you ______________________.

35. The boy had a knife and he ______________________.

36. The two boys were hunting when something happened. What happened?

37. You were climbing the tree when you got stuck so you ______.

38. The little boy picked up the stone because ________________.

39. A little girl was babysitting when something happened. What happened?

Instructions: Let's suppose you are going to draw a picture and that you are a very good artist who can draw anything. Now the first picture you draw is a mother.

40. What is the mother doing in your picture?

41. Now you draw a picture of a father. What is the father doing in your picture?

42. A boy.

43. Two men.

44. Two women.

45. Father and son.

46. Man and woman.

47. Yourself.

48. If you could have any wish come true, what would it be?

TAT's (colour photographs of Cree in natural settings)

49. A man and a little girl in a house.

50. A helicopter in a field, propellers going -- man standing beside it.

51. A boy rubbing his nose -- somewhat sad look on face.

52. Two men talking animatedly.

53. A man walking toward one of several houses.

54. A man holding a child in extended arms and walking through a clearing where other Cree are present.

55. A man holding a jar and handing something to several children.

56. A boy and girl holding hands by the edge of a lake.

57. An old man looking off into the distance.

58. A little girl looking off into distance with finger in mouth--somewhat fearful look on face.

D. Delay of Gratification Experiment

"I would like to give you a candy bar for helping me. Would you like to have one right now or do you want to wait a week without candy and then have two candy bars?"

CHAPTER 11

WHEN TELEVISION INVADES REMOTE NORTHERN COMMUNITIES

by

C. Pereira

CHAPTER V

This article is one in a series of research articles intended to describe in a systematic fashion the impact of television on two Northern Cree Canadian communities in Manitoba, Canada. The project originated in 1973 - 74 when the team of anthropologists, led by Hamer, Steinbring and Granzberg and others initiated their baseline investigation into the impact of radio, telephone and television in these communities. This article is a continuation of that project though its focus is more specific, since it attempts to describe the trends in the type of television programs Cree Canadians watch or ignore, their reasons for their choices, their perception of this medium and their opinion regarding how they perceive television changing the social and cultural patterns of interaction in their communities.

Identifying these trends is important to the community and their spokespersons who are often times required to make statements regarding the effects of television on their members. Knowing the trends in television watching is also important to social and government agencies, as well as to those interested in providing remote northern communities with the best type of television viewing possible. Any study designed to achieve these objectives must collect data that reflect the views of those affected by television as this is a first and fundamental step towards understanding how this medium influences the lives of persons in primary occupations in remote areas of industrial society. It also provides insights to the complex processes of social change. Throughout this article we shall note ways in which data obtained from a Cree sample of a population compares with that obtained from a non-Cree sample consisting of University of Winnipeg students, to determine whether difference in choice and perception of television programs exists between a Cree and non-Cree sample.

CHAPTER V

This article is one in a series of research articles intended to describe in a systematic fashion the impact of television on two Northern Cree Canadian communities in Manitoba, Canada. The project originated in 1973 - 74 when the team of anthropologists, led by Hamer, Steinbring and Granzberg and others initiated their baseline investigation into the impact of radio, telephone and television in these communities. This article is a continuation of that project though its focus is more specific, since it attempts to describe the trends in the type of television programs Cree Canadians watch or ignore, their reasons for their choices, their perception of this medium and their opinion regarding how they perceive television changing the social and cultural patterns of interaction in their communities.

Identifying these trends is important to the community and their spokespersons who are often times required to make statements regarding the effects of television on their members. Knowing the trends in television watching is also important to social and government agencies, as well as to those interested in providing remote northern communities with the best type of television viewing possible. Any study designed to achieve these objectives must collect data that reflect the views of those affected by television as this is a first and fundamental step towards understanding how this medium influences the lives of persons in primary occupations in remote areas of industrial society. It also provides insights to the complex processes of social change. Throughout this article we shall note ways in which data obtained from a Cree sample of a population compares with that obtained from a non-Cree sample consisting of University of Winnipeg students, to determine whether difference in choice and perception of television programs exists between a Cree and non-Cree sample.

Before turning to a discussion of the data, it is necessary to provide a little background about the Cree communities who, for the first time in the mid-seventies, were exposed to the benefits and/or hazards of television.

Historical Background

Norway House is a community 300 miles north of metropolitan Winnipeg which,as the result of the Hudson Bay Trading Company establishing a trading post in that area,came into existence around 1814-17. This post was "the centre of the Bay's trading operation" (Rich,1967: 211-230). The Native Canadian - the Cree - were drawn to the post by their involvement with the fur trade and over time settled near the depot.

> "It is their descendants, along with the descendants of offsprings of Indian women and traders, administrators and the various assortments of white men, who passed through Norway House that compose the present day Cree population of Norway House". (Hamer, Steinbring et al, 1974).

The term Norway House actually refers to "three communities strung out for about ten miles along both banks of the Nelson River. A fourth community is located on an island (Fort Island) which separates the river into two channels ..." (Hamer et al, ibid., p.7). In 1973-74 the total population of Norway House was 1189 persons (ibid., p.5). Since then it is estimated to be about 1,220 (estimates by Steinbring and Granzberg after their 1978 field work in area). Television entered this region in 1972-73.

Oxford House - The origin of Oxford House is in many ways similar to that of Norway House. It was also strategically located on the east to west fur trade route. The Cree who were organized into "autonomous nomadic bands of hunters and fishermen, utilized this trading post to sell their furs. With the depletion of fur-bearing animals they were settled on reserves near this trading post. In 1973-74 the Cree population numbered 711 persons " (ibid.,p.5). Television entered this community in 1977.

Thus, both communities are recent recipients of television which according to one body of opinion, educates, increasing empathy, understanding and awareness of the world and is an instrument of modernization. According to others, television increases crime, aggression and violence, reduces individualism and generally has a detrimental effect on those who spend hours viewing the various programs. The truth lies somewhere between these extremes and one way of understanding it is through empirical research of this kind.

University of Winnipeg Students

A third group in our study are students enrolled at the University of Winnipeg, 1978-79. They represent volunteers from a day and evening class who were chosen because they happened to be in classes taught by the researchers. The day students are generally regular full-time students who are younger in age than the night students. The latter generally work during the day and enrolled in evening courses as part time students. Comparing the responses of this group with those of the Cree sample population provides some indication of how similar or different the two sample populations are in terms of the programs watched and the reasons for their choices.

In Winnipeg, there are more television networks available for viewing than in the Northern communities for beside the three regular networks Winnipeg viewers have the option of cablevision. The Northern communities are serviced by only one television network - the C.B.C. To make a comparison between the similarities and the differences in the viewing patterns of Cree and non-Cree Canadians and the reasons why each group liked or disliked specific shows, respondents were asked to name the specific shows they liked or disliked. The great variety of responses were classified according to content, i.e. adventure, news, talk shows, which reduced the data sufficiently to permit comparisons between the Cree and non-Cree viewers' perception of program content.

Sampling and Methodology

Even prior to 1973, when this project was initiated, both Norway House and Oxford House had been the object of other research studies. Anthropologists who had worked in that area during the summer of '78 had made us aware of the fact that this population were becoming extremely sensitive to being studied by the researchers in their midst. It seemed probable that one more foreign field worker sent into the region could trigger the tension that would end all research in the area for some time. There was also the need to collect data, for without it, one would not have an empirical base on which to make the decisions that inevitably have to be made as television rapidly invades Northern Canada. The important concern was to balance the sensitivities of the communities that were objects of study with the need for research. After extensive consultation with anthropologists, participant observers, field workers and Cree from the area, it was decided to collect the required data by using an interview schedule which a trained Cree interviewer from the community would administer to a sample of the community selected for this purpose.* Initially, to promote cooperation, we leaned towards letting our interviewers have complete freedom in choosing respondents, using the rationale that a local was best suited to know the inner workings of the communities. But since the freedom to choose respondents would also allow one to collect data from a limited sample of intimates, whose responses may not really represent the varied views of the community, we decided against this option. Instead we decided to choose the sample in Winnipeg and did so from the list of names of members of the community that we obtained from a person sympathetic to our research objectives. A sample list representing 25% of the adult population was drawn from the names of adults (18 and over), arranged alphabetically according to surnames. Our interviewers were instructed to use this sample list to select respondents for interview. If the person on our list was not available, the instruction was that another adult member of that household was to be interviewed. Though this technique may not be completely acceptable, we made the decision based on our knowledge of the area, and felt it was the best possible strategy in the circumstances. It also enabled us to check background data obtained by interview with data available in our lists, and in this way we verified the authenticity of our respondents. There were four cases where the discrepancies were severe enough to warrant the rejection of the completed interview schedule. Some interviews are still to be completed but we are confident that our sample at this stage is representative of the adult communities in the area.

---

*This approach proved to be successful. There was no resistance to the interviewing conducted by the local Native researchers and there was continued cooperation with and support of anthropologists (Hanks and Granzberg) who were coordinating the field component of the study.

The non-Cree student sample consists of students enrolled at the University of Winnipeg. They do not represent any non-Cree population except themselves and are included for comparison, to help develop hypotheses and a more complex model for future comparative research.

The Interview Schedule (see Appendix)

Besides background data, questions included in the interview schedule were selected to obtain data on the respondent's favourite television program, the programs disliked and reasons for their feelings. Questions to determine whether they thought television has been good or bad for their community, how it has changed their view of the outside world, what effect it has on children, what opinions they had regarding Native language programs, what programs they watched, and how they regarded television were some other areas covered.

The instrument was readied, pre-tested for specificity, simplicity and clarity by anthropologists Steinbring and Granzberg, revised, and tested on Cree students in Winnipeg. These students were then asked to translate the questions into Cree, and the next day to translate the Cree version back to English. Differences in the English and the Cree-to-English versions were noted, and further revisions were made. The major problem was the absence of certain word equivalents in the Cree language. In this study, one objective was to determine the effect of television sex and violence on members of this community as perceived by respondents in our sample. Our translators had problems with both terms since the closest Cree equivalent of the term "sex" was sexual intercourse. Since the Cree word did not convey to our respondents what the term meant in English, we decided to instruct our interviewer to elaborate in Cree on problematic terms by using a number of related Cree terms. We did this because we felt it was important that the general ideas in the English terms were conveyed to them.The word "violence" in Cree had similar specific limitations so the procedure described above was followed for that term also. We believe the questions were understood by our Cree sample, most of whom do not have much formal education beyond grade nine. It took from thirty to forty minutes to administer the whole questionnaire.

A copy of the final version of this schedule was taken to our interviewers, who were asked to administer it to themselves, then translate it into Cree and back into English and then comment on its form and content. The only objection that was raised here, as it was earlier by Cree students, was regarding the issue of the "shaking tent". Both groups felt that questions relating to this issue should be omitted, because the community was already very sensitive to it. Accepting their reasons, we decided to exclude this question at this stage of the investigation. Data collection began in November 1978 and completed interview schedules were coded, put on cards and transferred onto tape for this analysis as soon as they were received. Data collection is continuing. This article reports on data collected up to mid-February 1979.

Statistical Procedures

Descriptive statistics are used to indicate trends. Where the statistical tests reported in this article utilizes the Chi square test of significance, it is mainly to suggest hypothesis for future comparisons. In these tests the hypothesis statistically tested is one of no relationship, i.e., that an association observed between a pair of variables is due to chance error which may be attributed to errors in methodology. When the Chi square tests indicate an association to be sufficient in magnitude to occur by chance fewer than five times in one hundred tests, the null hypothesis is rejected and by implication a hypothesis of association is accepted.

The reader should be cautioned that the use of probability statistics assume some form of random sampling. The present study can not claim to have followed the cannons of complete randomness for either Cree or non-Cree respondents and so the trends observed may not be completely representative of the population of the sample area. These statistics should be treated as indicators rather than precise criteria of the significance of association. There are other limits based on the size of the contingency table. With these cautions in mind let us now examine some of the characteristics and television viewing patterns of our Cree and non-Cree sample to see some characteristics of our sample population and to determine whether any trends have developed.

Age and Television Viewing Patterns

It has been observed that older individuals generally are less enthusiastic in their opinions regarding new technologies. It has been suggested that they have already invested much of their life energies in a specific mode of interaction, are more likely to be set in habits and cultural patterns and so express concerns regarding television. Younger adults are seen as being in a trial and error stage, more innovative and open and so are more likely to accept a new technology like television.

Let us examine the age variable to determine if it gives some insights into the impact of television as seen by respondents in our sample.

As seen in Table 1 (below) twenty-seven Cree respondents (18.4% of total sample), representing thirty percent of the Cree sample, were adults forty-five years of age or more. Eighteen others (12.2% of total sample), representing twenty percent of the Cree sample, were mature adults with ages from thirty-five to forty-four years. The rest were adults below the age of thirty-four of which twenty (13% of total sample) or twenty-two percent of the Cree sample were between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-four, the remaining twenty-five respondents, (17% of total sample), representing twenty-eight percent of the Cree sample were between eighteen and twenty-five years of age.

TABLE I

Age of Sample in Television Impact Study 1978-79

	No Answer	Young up to 25	Adult 25-34	Middle 35-44	Older over 45	Totals
Cree (90N)#	7	18	20	18	27	90
#%	8.0	20	22	20	30	98.
% Sample	4.8	12.2	13.6	12.2	18.4	61.2
Non-Cree (57N)	4	36	12	2	3	57
#%	7	62.4	20.8	3.5	5.2	98
% Sample	2.7	24.5	8.2	1.4	2.0	38.8

In the non-Cree sample of University students, the number in the older age group represented only five percent of this population. The largest cluster according to age was in the young adult category with forty respondents (27.2%) of total sample or sixty-seven percent of the non-Cree population under twenty-five years of age. The remaining twenty-five percent were in the mature adult category between the ages of twenty-five to forty-five years. So if older adults are those over thirty-five years of age, the Cree sample is evenly split between older and younger adults while the non-Cree is skewed to the younger adults who are in the proportion of eighty to twenty.

Sex of Television Viewing Sample

As may be seen from Table 2 of the ninety respondents in the Cree sample, forty-nine individuals (54%) are male, thirty-eight (42%) are female and the sex of three (3%) were not recorded. In the non-Cree sample of fifty-seven persons, seventeen (30%) are male, the remaining forty (70%) female. The Cree sample is over-represented by males who outnumber females by a ratio of one hundred and eight males to eighty-four females. The non-Cree sample shows the reverse ratios, with males under-represented in the sample and females over-represented, the ratio of males to females being sixty to one hundred and forty. Neither sample is representative of the statistical norm in Canadian society which is one hundred males for every one hundred and six females. The non-Cree sample is closer to the norm among university students enrolled in evening classes in the social sciences, where generally there are more female students than male students enrolled.

Age and Sex Distribution

The age and sex characteristics are often examined together to determine whether the similarities and differences in a specific independent variable is influenced by these characteristics. We know that the young are more receptive to innovations but there is no clear indication as to whether the sex of the respondent has a similar effect. In the Cree sample the difference in distribution of the male and female respondents in terms of specific age groupings does not vary more than five percent in any except the older adults, (those forty-five years and older), where the males outnumber the females by more than two to one.

In the non-Cree sample, the difference in the distribution of ages of male and female respondents shows that the females in the lower age groupings (under thirty-five years), are twice as many in number as the males in this age grouping, while in the older adult, (forty-five and over, age grouping), there are only three adults of whom two are male.

These tables show that the Cree sample has an even one-fifth percent of its total respondents in the three younger age groupings representing 60% of total sample, with almost one-third of the sample in the forty-five and over age grouping. In the non-Cree sample, eighty percent are clustered in the younger adult groupings, representing those thirty-five years and younger, while only five percent of the total sample are in the above forty-five age grouping.

At this point we shall turn to other variables to examine the trends that have been developing as a result of the introduction of television, beginning with patterns of television preference.

Favourite Programs of Respondents

Among the research objectives set by this study was the need to know what percent of the sample of both Cree and non-Cree respondents watched the various types of television programs available to them. Respondents were asked to name one of their favourite programs and one program they disliked. They were also asked to explain why they liked or disliked the program selected by them.

The responses to these inquiries are shown in Table 4. In the Cree sample, Soap Operas and Police Action shows were mentioned as favourites most often by eighteen Cree respondents (20%). The specific shows mentioned were "Edge of Night", and "Search for Tomorrow", the police shows were "Hawaii Five-O" and "Bear Cats". The non-Cree population, representing Winnipeg students in day and evening classes, had only two respondents mention soap operas as their favourite show, while no non-Cree respondent mentioned a police show as their favourite program.

One must cautiously interpret the findings in Table 4A since we know that the soap programs in Winnipeg are usually in the afternoon when day students are at university and evening students probably working. The data will be manipulated further to determine whether culture, socialization or convenience influences the choice of programs watched.

The second largest cluster of respondents from the Cree sample, consisting of sixteen individuals (17.8%) stated that their favourite shows are what is commonly called "Situation Comedy" and "Live Sportscasts". While a variety of "situation comedy" programs were specifically mentioned, the two often included were "Three's Company" and "Mindy & Mork". Of the sportscasts, "Hockey Night" was the favourite with sports viewers, though football and baseball were mentioned equally as second choice. Watching television for the News was a favourite activity for only six Cree respondents (6.7%) while no Cree respondent said that their favourite program was a Talk Show.

Among the non-Cree respondents a different ordering of favourite shows may be seen in Table 4A. The largest number of non-Cree appear to find Situation Comedy a favourite program since more than one-quarter of the total sample consisting of fifteen individuals (26.3%) stated that this was the case. Again, the two popular shows were "Mindy & Mork" and "Three's Company", though with the additional channels available to viewers, shows with the situation comedy content, that appeared on channels other than C.B.C., were mentioned. In the non-Cree sample, the second most popular type of program, based on cluster of respondents was the News. Fifteen non-Cree individuals (24%) of the sample said that their favourite television program was watching the newscasts. The rest of the responses were varied with no single category from among sport, soap, police, except for the talk shows having more than five percent of the sample. Soap Operas was mentioned as a favourite by only one non-Cree person.

In comparing the responses of Cree and non-Cree individuals in the sample, the first difference observed is that while Cree respondents stated that soap operas and police shows are their favourite programs these programs were listed as favourite by a total of three non-Cree persons. Though there is a difference of six percent more in the number of male respondents in the non-Cree sample who watch "Situation Comedy", both Cree and non-Cree regard situation comedy as favourite. The similarity in the choice of program content of favourite shows should not go unnoticed. We shall later attempt to determine whether their perception of "Situation Comedy" is similar. If "Soap Operas" and "Situation Comedy" are the favourite television programs for Cree and non-Cree respectively, the next concern is what shows do they dislike the most? This question was put to them. Their responses are presented in Table 4B.

Of the ninety Cree in the sample, twenty-two (24%) stated that "Situation Comedy" was the show they disliked the most. The specific show mentioned by title was "Archie Bunker". The next most unpopular type of program was the Talk Shows, specifically "Canada After Dark".

When one compares the shows disliked the most with those that were favourite it appears as if there is a mirror image for some shows in both samples. In the Cree sample, almost no respondent stated a dislike for soap or police shows and in the non-Cree sample, police programs were disliked by sixteen persons (28.1%). Situation Comedy was both liked and disliked by the non-Cree respondents with one-quarter stating a preference for them and almost one-third indicating a dislike for these programs (Table 4B).

Among the Cree respondents a program often mentioned because they disliked it was "The Muppets". It has a humour - dance - song - comedy format. But the number of times it was mentioned, twenty-three (25%), needs to be stated.

A larger number of Cree than non-Cree refused to reply to the question which asked them to state which program was disliked by them. In the non-Cree sample, situation comedy and police shows were most frequently mentioned as the shows disliked and the number in this category represented more than a quarter of the total sample in each case. The next largest cluster of individuals representing one-eighth of the sample indicated a dislike for soap operas. One can also say that certain programs were neither liked nor disliked since no large numbers indicated either that they liked or disliked these shows. In this category are sports and adventure programs.

Reasons for Favourite Television Shows

Another area of research, beside the identifying programs that the respondents regarded as favourite, was to determine why these positive opinions existed, and whether the reasons for regarding certain programs in specific ways differed significantly when the Cree and non-Cree responses were tabulated and examined.

Tables 5A and 5B show the various reasons why Cree and non-Cree like or dislike certain kinds of show. There was no significant difference in the reasons why the Cree and non-Cree respondents regard the different programs as favourite. For instance, in the Cree sample of ninety persons, the reasons for regarding a television show as a favourite, as mentioned by twenty-seven (30%) Cree respondent was its perceived entertainment value. This was followed by the thirteen (14.4%) individual whose favourite show was perceived as humorous. The last big grouping of individuals, ten persons (11.1%) saw television shows because of the information provided by the show.

In the non-Cree sample of respondents the reasons for preferring certain shows was similar to that of the Cree respondents though the order of preference was slightly different.

The majority watched their favourite show because these were seen as informative. This response was given by seventeen individuals (29.8%) with fifteen (26.3%) and fourteen (24.6%) watching favourite shows for their perceived humour and entertainment value respectively.

Reasons for Disliking Television Programs

When the reasons for not liking programs are examined, the most-often mentioned reason for disliking a program among the Cree sample, representing thirty-nine (43.3%) of the total sample was the perceived boring content of the program. A second reason, among the Cree respondents, was that they did not understand what was happening. This response was given by nine individuals (10%) and could indicate barriers in culture and language that contribute to the dislike of specific television shows (Table 5B).

The non-Cree sample stated the same main reason for disliking a television program as did the Cree sample. Fourteen non-Cree respondents (25%) saw the programs they disliked as "phoney". In both Cree and non-Cree samples only five percent of the respondents saw the programs as being bad.

The Effects of Television

The concern with the effects of television on the community was the next question that was investigated. Respondents were asked to give their opinion and to indicate in what ways they thought television had been good for their community. They were also asked to indicate how, in their opinion, television had been bad for their community. Their responses are shown in Tables 6A and 6B.

Good Effects of Television

The Cree respondents saw the effects of television as being good in that according to thirty-three of them (36.7%) television contributed to their knowledge. A second reason why television had benefitted their community, according to nineteen respondents (21.1%) was that it kept the children at home. The third reason given by twelve individuals (13.3%) was that it provided news and fashions. Other less important positive effects of television were that it helped one communicate better with others (6.7%), that it stopped boredom (3.3%) and that it showed how to better keep the home (1%).

The non-Cree saw the good effects of television in the knowledge they gained from the program. This opinion was expressed by thirty-three respondents (57.9%) of the total sample. Non-Cree respondents were of the opinion that television aided in communication (17%). The chi square was 22.9 with eight degrees of freedom and showed a significance equal .0035.

The Bad Effects of Television

According to the opinion of the Cree respondents television was bad for their community because of the effect it had on the children. Twelve Cree respondents (13.3%) felt television was bad for children. An equal number felt that it was bad for the community since it appeared to make people lazy. Half that number, specifically seven (7.8%) felt that television was bad because of the sex and violence and an equal number (seven) felt it was bad because it was not relevant for the residents. There were twenty-seven respondents (30%) who challenged the question by saying that they did not see anything bad with television. Two percent of the Cree population felt that because of television there were no more group outings and for this reason saw television as being bad for the community.

The non-Cree population were of the opinion, according to twenty-three of them (40.4%) that television made people lazy. Fifteen percent of this same sample were of the opinion that television stopped communication between people, was bad for children and had too much sex and violence. Not one of the non-

Cree respondents disagreed with the question by saying that they did not think television was bad, as did the Cree respondents. When tests of significance on the responses were carried out the chi square = 48.5 with 8 degrees of freedom with a significance equalling .0000.

The Effect of Television on Views of the Outside World

Less than 4C% of the Cree respondents answered the question, "Has television changed your views of the outside world?" Among the non-Cree there was a slight increase of 10% who did answer the question. In the Cree sample twenty-two (24%) said yes, television had changed their views of the outside world and the most important way that this change had occurred was that they had learned more about others. The second most often cited reason by 7% of Cree respondents on how television had changed their views of the outside world was the realization that other places were good for visits but not for permanent stay. This response is an interesting one because there has always been a concern that television may act as a magnet on viewers' perception of the outside world by inducing them to leave their community to seek greener pastures elsewhere in urban centres. (Table 8).

A small 2% of the Cree population said that television viewing had made them realize that they were not the only ones with problems.

The non-Cree population responded in a similar manner to this question, in that there was no significant difference in their responses to this question: like the Cree, they were of the opinion that one learned from others (44%). There was however, no other reason mentioned more than twice. This question appears to have been ignored by a very large percent of both Cree (50%) and non-Cree (respondents 44%).

The Effect of Television on Children

The greatest concern with the impact of television is its alleged affect on children. The debate has been ongoing since the earliest days of television with some authorities like Harry Skorpia convinced that television viewing is directly responsible for increased juvenile deliquency (Skorpia, H. 1977:347) There is the opposite opinion which states that television viewing is beneficial for children. The respondents in the sample were asked whether some programs on television were considered by them to be bad for children. 51% indicated yes, to this question while 37% did not see any programs as being bad for children (Table 9).

Among the non-Cree sample of respondents, 80% were of the opinion that some programs existed that were bad for children.

Respondents from both sample populations were next asked to specify the shows which they believed were bad for children. More than one third of the Cree respondents named shows that depicted sex and violence. The television program that was also regarded as being bad for children, though the percent of responses in this category was not high, representing only 5% of Cree responses, was situation comedy. Both Cree and non-Cree respondents representing 4% and 7% of the sample respectively felt that Archie Bunker and his verbal confrontations with his son-in-law was bad for children. It is probable that they saw this as a breakdown in traditional authority structures within the family, though the number holding this view is microscopic. Of significance in this question is the large percent of Cree respondents who were of the opinion that the question was not applicable since they were of the opinion that television was not bad for children. This segment of the sample represented 37% of the total Cree population.

Only 2% of the Cree sample stated they did not know whether television was bad for their children or not. Among the non-Cree the response that was second to the most popular one regarding sex and violence was the concern that television showed one how to commit crime. This effect of television was mentioned by 8% of the non-Cree respondents, with another 8% regarding the children's show Mr. Dressup as being bad for children.

To the question, "Why do you think television had an effect on children", the response by the Cree respondents in the survey was that children do what they see and television puts the ideas into their heads. This reason was mentioned by 37% of the population in the sample. Understanding of Western society was another effect that television had on children according to 8% of the Cree respondents, while an almost similar cluster of responses, 7% of the sample, were of the opinion that the effect of television on children was that it dulled the senses of its child viewers who then lose interest in school attendance or who get up late because they were watching late shows the previous night. Only 3% of the Cree respondents were of the opinion that television created discipline problems, in that children did not listen to adults as a consequence of watching television.

The non-Cree responses were similar in that they saw the effect of television on children as giving children ideas (54%) and as dulling their senses (19%). A large number representing 15% of the Cree and 17% of the non-Cree did not answer the question, but recorded a comment which had to be treated as irrelevant to the issue of effect of television on children.

Why Children Are Affected By Television

Respondents were asked to specify why, in their opinion, children were affected by television programs. Among the Cree respondents, a total of forty-four percent either did not respond to the question or gave a response which was not at all relevant to the question asked. Of the remaining fifty-six percent, eighteen percent (16 respondents) were of the opinion that children 'learn good' from television, though no elaboration or explanation was given of how they defined 'good'. Another eleven percent of the respondents (10 persons) observed that children imitated the behaviour seen on television though again there was no indication that this imitation was good or bad. Negative reasons were expressed and the dominant reasons were concerns for the effect of sex, violence and killing (mentioned by eight percent) or the possibility that children acted out the evil seen by them on television (five percent) or that children tend to become more interested in television than in other activities (five percent). A small percent of the Cree respondents, i.e., three percent of the sample, were of the opinion that television was 'trouble' for children, though again, what was meant by the term was not explained. The remaining four Cree respondents observed that television brought the world into one's home, though this response was in the nature of a general observation since the connection between the observation and the effect of television was not spelled out by the respondents (Table 12).

Among the non-Cree respondents an equally large number amounting to forty-two percent of the sample either gave no reason why they felt that television had an effect on children or they replied with a response that was not relevant to the question. The majority of those who did answer the question (nineteen percent) were of the opinion that children imitated what was seen on television. Another fourteen percent of the non-Cree respondents were of the opinion that children 'learn good' from television while seven percent saw children becoming more interested in television than in other things. Only five percent of the non-Cree respondents believed that the sex, violence and killing on television had any effect on children. In conclusion, apart from the silent majority who either refused to respond to the question that attempted to probe into reasons why television was seen to affect children, the dominant concerns of both Cree and non-Cree respondents was the role models provided by television shows, which over sixteen percent of the respondents saw as teaching 'good' to the children. Another fourteen percent of the respondents saw children imitating television while ten percent were concerned that the sex, violence, killing and evil on television affected children in the community.

Television Known Before the White Man

In earlier research (see Granzberg 1976) anthropologists and field workers had stated that a segment of the Cree population in these Northern communities believed that television was not a new medium since it was known to selective members of their community before it was introduced to them by Western Man. To determine how widely held this view was, we asked our respondents to agree or disagree with the statement "Television was known before the White Man". Four Cree respondents did not answer the question or did not know. Almost twenty-five percent of the Cree respondents agreed with the statement that television was known to their people before the White Man introduced it and of these nine percent strongly agreed with this statement (Table 13). A larger number representing seventy-one percent of the sample disagreed with the statement, with seventeen percent of this category indicating that they strongly disagreed with the statement. Among the non-Cree only twelve percent agreed with the statement, none of them strongly, while twenty percent disagreed, with one of this group strongly disagreeing. A large sixty-eight percent chose not to answer the question as they did not see it as relevant to them. What is learned is that at least one quarter of the Cree respondents believe that television was known to their people before it was introduced by Western Man.

Television Is Like Dreaming

The observation that television viewing is similar to dreaming was also an item on which data was collected. No significant difference was found among the opinions held by Cree and non-Cree respondents though forty-two percent of the sample were of the opinion that television was like dreaming while fifty-three percent disagreed with the statement. Among the Cree respondents, thirty-five percent agreed with the statement while sixty percent disagreed with it. The non-Cree sample had a larger percent representing fifty-two percent of their total, agreeing with the statement that television was like dreaming while forty-two percent disagreed with it (Table 14).

The reasons for these opinions vary among both Cree and non-Cree respondents. Thirteen percent of the Cree stated they did not understand the question, while four percent did not have a reason for the opinion expressed earlier. The respondents who gave a reason for believing that television was like dreaming, saw television as a medium of escape (two percent) or as a look into the future (two percent) or as a reminder of what had occurred (three percent). Those who disagreed often said they felt television was real while dreams were not (Table 15).

Among the non-Cree, twenty respondents (thirty-five percent) saw television as a means of escape and hence likened it to dreaming. In this question as in others where the interviewer was required to probe, the not ascertained or no response category was large for the Cree respondents.

Opinions Regarding Local and Native Language Programs

Those responsible for providing television to remote Northern communities, as well as educators and individuals concerned with the Native cultures, have often expressed concern regarding the need for television programs in the local or Native languages. One major concern in this study was to determine the opinion of the local people on this issue. Respondents were asked what they felt about local and Native language programs and were then asked to indicate reasons for their opinions. Among the Cree respondents over one-quarter of the sample population were of the opinion that such local or Native language programs would make television watching more interesting. Another twenty-one percent were of the opinion that the present situation was very inadequate and eleven percent felt that such local and Native language programs would facilitate comprehension since the language barrier would be removed. Another seven percent were of the strong opinion that such programs in local and Native language were essential for the community. The non-Cree population did not respond to the question with eighty percent giving no response. One reason for this could be that they perceived the question as irrelevant to their situation. Those that did respond gave reasons similar to that given by the Cree respondents, though the frequency of responses was not more than four percent for each response (Table 16).

Regarding reasons for wanting local and Native language programs, the Cree respondents stated that a better understanding of television shows would result and they felt that this would be good for the community. Eight percent were in favour of local and Native language programs because they liked Indian ways and felt that Native language programs would necessarily depict that way of life. The next largest cluster of responses were those who felt that Native and local language programs would enable children to role-model more meaningfully. The remaining reasons representing one or two percent of the sample, felt that such programs would not show Indians as stereotyped drunks though this opinion was expressed by one respondent. The non-Cree respondents generally refrained from examining the pros or cons of local or Native language television with only three non-Cree respondents (5.3%) stating that such programs would contribute to the Native viewers' better understanding of television shows (Table 17).

Respondents were asked whether they felt that television had changed the community life. The responses of those who stated it had and those who stated it hadn't represented similar numbers in both the Cree and non-Cree samples. Over sixty-four percent of the Cree sample were of the opinion that television had changed the life in the community while twenty-three were of the opinion that no change had occurred, with eleven percent not responding to the question. Among the non-Cree fifty-four percent believed that television changed community life, while seventeen percent believed that no change has occurred. A larger number representing twenty-eight percent of the non-Cree sample were silent on this issue.

The changes that Cree respondents felt had occurred were regarding activities that members of the community were engaged in prior to television invading their homes. Some respondents felt that as a result of television at least four activities were no longer practiced. This was the opinion of sixty-one percent of the Cree respondents who indicated that members of their community before television engaged in group recreation, hunting, camping and watching hockey games, all of which had been supplanted by television.

We were also concerned with the programs that our sample of respondents would choose and so asked them to indicate their preferences between news, sports, and adventure-type programs. Among the Cree sample adventure programs was mentioned by forty-four percent of the sample population (40 persons), news by thirty-four percent (31 persons), and sport by nineteen percent (17 persons). The non-Cree responded in a similar manner with the highest frequency of responses in the news and adventure categories and the lowest frequency of responses stating that sports was their favourite choice (Table 18).

Conclusions

Although the whole set of tables may be confusing, there are a number of observations that one can make about the way television is perceived by the Cree population in Northern Manitoba. A difference in perception regarding the impact of television appears to be present along the age variable with the younger age respondents seeing no ill effects of television and the older over thirty-five age category being less enthusiastic about this medium. The responses to date also seem to show that in spite of pre-testing, there is a significantly large number of the sample who either do not understand the question being asked or who choose to ignore replying to them. One possible explanation for this large number of no response or not ascertained or don't know response could be due to the culture of this group. We know that the reaction of Cree respondents to direct questions or to questions that attempt to probe into a specific issue, is to ignore both the questioner and the question or to avoid the issue by the statement "I don't know". If this is indeed the case, then the questions asked here will have to be restructured with more informality to meet the specific cultural customs of this population.

At this stage, what is known is that opinions on various issues ranging from favourite and least-liked programs to the effect of television on the community, on children and the perception of television as being good or evil because it has or hasn't changed one's perception of the world is varied to a very great extent. The difference in the opinions are in some ways similar to the opinions held by non-Cree viewers with whom these responses were compared. In ways already discussed Cree respondents are sometimes like all non-Cree respondents. sometimes like some non-Cree respondents and sometimes like no non-Cree respondents. In our continuing analyses we will be seeking to specify where exactly these similarities and differences are and the reasons (cultural, age, etc.) why they exist.

References

Granzberg, Gary, et al. 1977 — "New Magic for Old: TV in Cree Culture" in Journal of Communications, vol.27:4.

Hamer, John, Steinbring, John H., and Granzberg, Gary et al. — "Preliminary Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North. A report to the Department of Communications of Canada." Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.

Rich, E. 1967 — *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857*, Toronto.

Skorpia, Harvey J.(ed.) 1977 — *Intellect*, New York, Friedman.

TABLE 2 SEX OF TELEVISION VIEWING SAMPLE

Count %	MALE	FEMALE	N.A.	TOTAL
CREE	49.00	38.00	3.0	90.0
	54.4	42.2	3.3	99.2
NON-CREE	17.0	40.00	0.0	57.0
	29.8	70.2	0.0	100.0
	66.0	78.0	3.0	147
	44.9	53.1	2.0	100

TABLE 3

SEX OF TELEVISION VIEWING SAMPLE CONTROLLING FOR AGE

	MALE					FEMALE					
	N.A.	Young Adult 18-24	Adult 25-34	Mature Adult 35-44	Older Adult 45 and over	N.A.	Young Adult 18-24	Adult 25-34	Middle Adult 35-44	Older Adult 45 and over	
CREE	7.00	8.00	12.00	7.00	18.00	3.00	10.00	8.00	9.00	8.00	90.00
	7.7	8.8	13.3	7.7	20.00	3.3	11.00	8.8	10.00	8.8	99.4
NON-CREE	0.00	12.00	3.00	0.0	2.00	4.00	24.00	9.00	2.00	1.00	57.00
	0.00	21.00	5.3	0.0	3.5	7.00	42.00	15.00	3.5	1.7	99.00
	7.00	20.00	15.00	7.00	20.00	7.00	34.00	17.00	11.00	9.00	147.00
											100

TABLE 4A

FAVOURITE TELEVISION PROGRAMS

No. %	No Response	Sport	Soap	Situation Comedy	Talk	Police	Adventure	News	Others	Total
CREE	3.0	16.00	18.0	16.00	0.0	8.0	3.0	6.0	10.00	90
	3.3	17.8	20.8	17.8	0.0	20.0	3.3	6.7	11.1	100.0
NON-CREE	2.0	3.0	1.0	15.0	4.0	2.0	3.0	14.0	13.0	57
	3.5	5.3	1.8	26.3	7.0	3.5	5.3	24.0	32.8	100
	5	19	19	31	4	20	6	20	23	147

TABLE 4B

LEAST LIKED TELEVISION PROGRAMS

No. %	No Response	Sport	Soap	Situation Comedy	Talk	Police	Adventure	News	Others	Total
CREE	10.00	5.0	2.0	22.0	20.0	0.0	1.0	3.7	27.0	90
	11.2	5.6	2.2	24.4	22.2	0.0	1.1	3.3	30.0	100
NON-CREE	2.0	0.0	7.0	18.0	0.0	16.0	1.0	0.0	13.0	57
	3.5	0.0	12.3	31.6	0.0	28.1	1.8	0.0	22.8	38.8
	12	5	9	40	20	16	2	3	40	147

TABLE 5A

REASONS FOR FAVOURITE TELEVISION PROGRAM

	N.A.	Convenient Hour	Humour	Informative	Intelligent	Entertain	Sport	Canadian	Other	Total
CREE	20 22.2	3 3.3	13 14.4	10 11.1	1 1.1	27 30.0	3 3.3	1 1.1	12 13.3	90 61.2
NON-CREE	4 7.0	0 0.0	15 26.3	17 29.8	0 0.0	14 24.6	2 3.5	0 0.0	5 8.8	57 38.8
	24	3	28	27	1	41	5	1	17	147

TABLE 5B

REASONS FOR DISLIKING PROGRAM

	N.A.	Reruns	Phoney	Boring	Bad	Not Understand	No Action	Too Commerical	Other	Total
CREE	15 16.7	5 5.6	2 2.2	39 43.3	5 5.6	9 10.0	1 1.1	1 1.1	13 14.4	90 61.2
NON-CREE	3 5.3	0 0.0	14 24.6	30 52.6	3 5.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 1.8	6 10.5	57 38.8
	18	5	16	69	8	9	1	2	19	147

TABLE 6A

REASON WHY TELEVISION IS GOOD

	N.A.	Stops Boredom	At Home	Knowledge	News Fast	Church	Better Homes	Communication	Others	Total
CREE	13 14.4	3 3.3	19 21.1	33 36.7	12 13.3	1 1.1	1 1.1	6 6.7	2 2.2	90 61.2
NON-CREE	8 14.0	2 3.5	0 0.0	33 57.9	3 5.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	10 17.5	1 1.8	57 38.8
	21	5	19	65	15	1	1	16	3	147

TABLE 6B

REASONS WHY TELEVISION IS BAD

	N.A.	No Bad	Sex and Violence	Bad for Kids	Stops Communications	No More Outings	Lazy	Relevant Reason	Others	Total
CREE	19 21.1	27 30.0	7 7.8	12 13.3	1 1.1	2 2.2	12 13.3	7 7.8	3 3.3	90 61.2
NON-CREE	4 7.0	0 0.0	8 14.0	8 14.0	9 15.8	3 5.3	23 40.4	2 3.5	0 0.0	57 38.8
	23	27	15	20	10	5	35	9	3	147

TABLE 7 HAS TELEVISION CHANGED VIEWS?

	N.A.	YES	NO	TOTAL
CREE	19 21.1	36 40.0	35 38.9	90 61.2
NON-CREE	3 5.3	31 54.4	23 40.4	57 38.8
	22	67	58	147

TABLE 8 HOW TELEVISION CHANGED VIEWS

	N.A.	Learn	Not Only Ones	Visits Only	Not Bad as Programs	Not Relevant Reason	Others	Total
CREE	45 50.0	22 24.4	2 2.2	6 6.7	0 0.0	13 14.4	2 2.2	90 61.2
NON-CREE	25 43.9	25 43.9	2 3.5	1 1.8	1 1.8	3 5.3	0 0.0	57 38.8
	70	47	4	7	1	16	2	147

TABLE 9 HOW TELEVISION EFFECTS CHILDREN

	N.A.	YES	NO	TOTAL
CREE	11 12.2	46 51.1	33 36.7	90 61.2
NON-CREE	2 3.5	46 80.7	9 15.8	57 38.8
	13	92	42	147

TABLE 10

TELEVISION SHOWS BAD FOR KIDS

	N.A.	Not Applicable	Sex and Violence	Mr. Dress-Up	Show How Crime	Sit-Com	Distort Real	Bugs Bunny	Other	Total
CREE	15 16.7	33 36.7	32 35.6	2 2.2	1 1.1	4 4.4	0 0.0	1 1.1	2 2.2	90 61.2
NON-CREE	2 3.5	9 15.8	33 57.9	0 0.0	5 8.8	4 7.0	3 5.3	1 1.8	0 0.0	57 38.8
	17	42	65	2	6	8	3	2	2	147

TABLE 11 EFFECT OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN

	N.A.	Frightens	Ideas	At Home	Understands Whites	Ignore Adult	Dulls Senses	No Effect	Not Relevant	Don't Know	Total
CREE	20 22.2	1 1.1	33 36.7	3 3.3	7 7.8	3 3.3	6 6.7	1 1.1	14 15.6	2 2.2	90 61.2
NON-CREE	3 5.3	1 1.8	31 54.4	1 1.8	0 0.0	0 0.0	11 19.3	0 0.0	10 17.5	0 0.0	57 38.8
	23	2	64	4	7	3	17	1	24	2	147

TABLE 12

WHY CHILDREN ARE EFFECTED BY TELEVISION

	N.A.	Sex Violence Killing	Act Out Evil	Learn Good	Trouble	Imitation	More Interested In T.V.	Brings World	Not Relevant	Don't Know	Total
CREE	27 30.0	7 7.8	5 5.6	16 17.8	3 3.3	10 11.1	5 5.6	4 4.4	12 13.3	1 1.1	90 61.2
NON-CREE	7 12.3	3 5.3	1 1.8	8 14.0	0 0.0	11 19.3	4 7.0	0 0.0	23 40.4	0 0.0	57 38.8
	34	10	6	24	3	21	9	4	35	1	147

TABLE 13 TELEVISION WAS KNOWN BEFORE WHITE MAN

	N.A.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know	Total
CREE	3 3.3	8 8.9	14 15.6	49 54.4	15 16.7	1 1.1	90 61.2
NON-CREE	39 68.4	0 0.0	7 12.3	10 17.5	1 1.8	0 0.0	57 38.8
	42	8	21	59	16	1	147

TABLE 14 TELEVISION IS LIKE DREAMING

	N.A.	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Total
CREE	3	32	54	1	90
	3.3	35.6	60.0	1.1	61.2
NON-CREE	3	30	24	0	57
	5.3	52.6	42.1	0.0	38.8
	6	62	78	1	147

TABLE 15

REASONS WHY TELEVISION IS LIKE DREAMING

	N.A.	Escape	Reminds	Future	Only When Reruns	Historical	Disagree	Comm. Make You Wish	Question Not Understood	Don't Know	Total
CREE	37 41.1	2 2.2	3 3.3	2 2.2	1 1.1	1 1.1	27 20.0	1 1.1	12 13.3	4 4.4	90 61.2
NON-CREE	7 12.3	20 35.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	19 33.3	3 5.3	8 14.0	0 0.0	57 38.8
	44	22	3	2	1	1	46	4	20	4	147

TABLE 16

OPINIONS REGARDING LOCAL AND NATIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAM

	N.A.	Essential	More Interesting	Inadequate	Helps Comprehend	Learn About Others	Question Not Understood	Don't Know	Total
CREE	6 6.7	24 26.7	3 3.3	19 21.1	10 11.1	0 0.0	14 15.6	1 1.1	90 61.2
NON-CREE	1 1.8	2 3.5	1 1.8	2 3.5	0 0.0	2 3.5	2 3.2	1 1.8	57 38.8
	7	26	4	21	10	2	16	2	147

TABLE 17

REASONS FOR LOCAL AND NATIVE LANGUAGE

	N.A.	Stereo-type	Other Natives	Role Model	Nothing Here	Like Indian Ways	Under' Stand Better	Not Relevant	Don't Know	Total
CREE	24 26.7	1 1.1	2 2.2	5 5.6	1 1.1	7 7.8	42 46.7	7 7.8	1 1.1	90 61.2
NON-CREE	51 89.5	0 0.0	1 1.8	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	3 5.3	2 3.5	0 0.0	57 38.8
	75	1	3	5	1	7	45	9	1	147

TABLE 18 CHOICE OF TELEVISION PROGRAM

	N.A.	News	Sports	Adventure	Total
CREE	2	31	17	40	90
	2.2	34.4	18.9	44.4	61.2
NON-CREE	1	26	8	22	57
	1.8	45.6	14.0	38.6	38.8
	3	57	25	62	147

APPENDIX

Questionnaire Assessing Television Usage in Two Remote Northern Cree Communities

SURVEY OF T.V. USAGE IN THE NORTH

Introductory Statement: We are conducting a survey of how people in this community feel about T.V. With your kind help we hope to find out how to improve T.V. service here. Your responses will remain strictly confidential.

1. a. Name . . . .
   b. Age . . .
   c. Sex - Male . . Female . .
   d. Married . . . or Single . . . .
   e. Number of Children . . .

2. a. Do you have a T.V. in working order in your home?
   Yes . . No . .
   b. Is it in colour? Yes . . No . .

3. What is one of your favourite T.V. programs? . . . . .

. . . .

4. Why do you like it? . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

5. Which program do you dislike?. . . . .

6. Why do you dislike it? . . . .

. . . .

7. In your opinion, in what ways do you think T.V. has been good for your community?

. . . .

. . . .

8. In your opinion, in what ways do you think T.V. has been bad for your community?

. . . .

. . . .

9.a. Has T.V. changed your views of the outside world? Yes..No..
b. In what ways has it changed? . . . .

. . . .

10. On an ordinary day of the week, how many hours of T.V. do you watch? (counting everything you watch during the day).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11.a. Are there any programs on T.V. that are bad for children to see? Yes .. No ..

b. If answer to 11.a. is Yes, which ones . . . . .
. . . .

12. What effect do you think T.V. has on children?
. . . .
. . . .

13. Why do you think this? . . . .
. . . .
. . . .

14. How often do you go over to your friends to watch T.V.?
(1) Once a week .. (2) Twice a week .. (3)3 times or more ..

15.a. What program draws the largest crowds?
. . . .

b. Usually how many people are there in this crowd? . . .

c. What are their ages? (1) Mostly the old (2) Mostly middle aged (3) Mostly young (4) a mixture of all three age groups (5) other

16. I am now going to read you a number of statements about T.V. Would you please indicate how much you agree or disagree with them. There is no right or wrong answer.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(1)	T.V. is stupid				
(2)	It doesn't cost much to buy a T.V.				
(3)	T.V. lets you know what is happening in other places				
(4)	T.V. is dangerous				
(5)	T.V. is evil				
(6)	T.V. makes people lazy				
(7)	You can't learn anything important from T.V.				
(8)	T.V. is hard to understand				
(9)	People are hooked on T.V.				
(10)	T.V. is the best thing that's happened in a long time				
(11)	T.V. watching has made me want to go to the city				
(12)	T.V. watching has made me not want to go to the city				

T.V. Survey

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(13) T.V. was known to our people long ago				
(14) There is too much sex and violence on T.V.				
(15) T.V. tells lies				
(16) T.V. makes people crazy				
(17) We would be better off if we had no T.V.				

17.a. Some people say T.V. is like dreaming. Would you agree or disagree? (1) Agree . . (2) Disagree . .

b. Why do you feel that way? . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

18.a. If you could write to the C.B.C. and have them change the T.V. programs, what would you have them change?

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

19.a. How do you feel about local and Native language programs on T.V.?

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

b. Why do you feel this way?

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

20.a. Do you feel life in this community has been changed by T.V.? Yes . . . No . . .

b. In what ways? . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

21. What did people do before T.V. came to this area? . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

22.a. If you could only watch one kind of program on T.V. (either news, sports or adventure) which one would you choose?

(1) News
(2) Sports
(3) Adventure

b. If your choice was between comedy, soap opera or adventure programs what would you choose then?

(1) Comedy
(2) Soap Opera
(3) Adventure

c. What if your choice was between sports, movies or soap operas?

(1) Sports
(2) Movies
(3) Soap Operas

23. People watch T.V. for many reasons, for example:
(1) to get weather reports
(2) news
(3) to be with others
(4) to have something to do when bored
(5) to learn how others live
(6) to find out what will happen in the future

What are two reasons why you watch T.V.?

(1) . . . .

(2) . . . .

CHAPTER 12

USE OF VIDEC TAPE IN CROSS-CULTURAL TELEVISION RESEARCH: PHASE II "THE MUPPETS"

by

Christopher Hanks and Gary Granzberg

THE USE OF VIDEO TAPE IN CROSS CULTURAL TELEVISION RESEARCH: RESEARCH: PHASE II "THE MUPPETS"; by Christopher C. Hanks and Gary Granzberg.

I. Methodology

The use of video-tape in cross-cultural television research began in 1978, in response to the need for a more stringent control of viewer exposure to program content. For both the 1978 "Edge of Night" study and the 1979 "The Muppets" survey, a video taped program sequence was used to establish a common exposure for informants being interviewed. In terms of insuring maximum control of the data, video-tape is effective at two levels. First, because video-tape equipment is portable and can be easily integrated into home television, it provides the capacity for outreach from the lab into field with more sophisticated research designs, and secondly, because video-tape enables the reseacher to control the content used to stimulate informant responses. The resulting uniformity in exposure has allowed the authors in both the "Edge of Night" and "The Muppets" studies to focus on specific issues in the test sequence from which generalizations can be better made. The video-tape sequences were used in conjunction with open ended questions on content and with performance tests to gage comprehension. Further, background ethnographic information was derived from the Saulteaux who participated in the "Edge of Night" survey and the Cree in "The Muppets" through long term participant observation in the two villages.

"The Edge of Night" Video-Tape study.

The significance of the "Edge of Night" to Algonkian people was noted by Dr. Jack Steinbring of the University of Winnipeg during preliminary participant observation at Jackhead between 1972 and 1976. Steinbring noted that village activity ceased daily when the program was aired. Subsequently, Sally Davidson postulated that similarities existed between soap opera background music and traditional Saulteaux dream songs (Hanks 1979 ,pp 155-6). But despite the rather large quantity of observational data that existed with regards to the "Edge of Night", a quantative objective measure of the phenomenon was lacking. With the video-tape project, it was sought to develop both a qualitative and quantitative measure of the impact of the "Edge of Night".

The sampling technique was based upon the thirty household units that existed at Jackhead. Ultimately it was possible to sample twenty four of the households. Within each household we attempted to sample at least two if not more individuals for a total sample of fifty individuals. Ultimately 80% of the Jackhead households and 15% of the total population were sampled. In the control community of Euro-Canadian "1"* where more than 200 household units exist, thirty households were visited and sixty individuals tested.

Though the inquiry failed to arrive at a definitive statement concerning the comparatively different reaction to soap operas in Native and non-Native society, some interesting insights were gathered that greatly increased our collective knowledge about the cultural perception of soap operas.

In Native Canadian society the "Edge of Night" is frequently treated as a collage of events from Euro-Canadian society. While in the Euro-Canadian control community "Edge of Night" was considered to be over dramatized to the point where it no longer represented reality. On a deeper level, the "Edge of Night" was found to contain information about the law, police, medicine and human interactions within middle class society which the Saulteaux found useful in their dealings with the outside world. Symbolically, the Saulteaux found differences in the way in which the dead were handled. In a television funeral, for example, the body was left unguarded and people were allowed to stay alone with the body, both of which are contrary to the supernatural safeguards taken by the Saulteaux in handling the dead. Ultimately a clear distinction developed.

Although the Euro-Canadian sample denied a close association between behaviour on "Edge of Night" and reality, they did feel that "Edge of Night" was, in its own way, a depiction of Euro-Canadian or Canadian society. The Saulteaux, on the other hand, steadfastly maintained that, although they learned from the program, its frame of reference was totally within Euro-Canadian Society (Hanks,1979 , pp. 173-4).

* McGregor, Manitoba

The Comparative Application of the Video-tape Technique.

The "Edge of Night" study established the video-tape methodology as a means for eliciting responses that deal with program content. Thus, the basic methodology used for the"Edge of Night" was designed to examine the interpretation of content by informants. The study used an entire "Edge of Night" program minus advertisements. The commercials were removed for two reasons. First it allowed the test sequence to be shortened without altering the plot. Secondly, it removed a stimulation that did not correspond to the plot, but could effect the respondents by distracting them from the test sequence. Within the program there existed several subplots, each of which received two or three scenes within the program. Our questions were designed to interpret the meaning of action within those subplots. This strategy was chosen in order to try and tap the Algonkian predisposition for detailed, particularistic descriptions of events. Despite the fact that the questions posed lacked the sophistication necessary to have fully exploited this design, the technique was successful in that consistant responses are elicited about the "Edge of Night". The significance of this is more easily understood in light of the fact that although "Edge of Night" was the most popular program in Jackhead, people previously had found it difficult to discuss in any kind of detail with researchers. A number of factors would appear to be responsible for the increase in people's ability to respond. First, as interviews were held immediately after viewing, short term recall would be significantly better than it would be for interviews conducted considerably later in time. Secondly, it was noted that a response was more frequently elicited to non directed statements containing simplified particularistic questions as opposed to those of a more general nature. The premise before this strategy relates back to Saulteaux linguistics. In their Native language, questions by the Saulteaux are rarely if ever directly stated. Rather, questions are frequently posed in statement form that, by inference, contain an interrogative clause. Hence, by making ambivalent statements about specific actions on the program, we were able to probe more deeply into the interpretation of the programme than if specific direct questions had been asked, or a series of general inquiries had been made.

Despite the improvements made in data collection by the Video-tape technique over general questionnaires and directed participant observation, the rate of no response was still higher then was desirable. As a general rule, Algonkians are not a verbally oriented people and as a result they frequently find it easier to demonstrate how an operation is done rather than to verbally explain it. Though adopting elements of the Saulteaux linguistic idiom had improved the quantity and quality or our responses, it was postulated that if the technique was truly to come into its own, informants must be able to usually demonstrate their answer as well as to verbally explain it. Therefore, the major methodological change which took place between the "Edge of Night" and "The Muppets" survey was the addition of performance tests some of which were based upon photographic sorting. All the performance tests involved respondents selecting photographs keyed to closed ended and modified closed ended questions.

In the closed ended questions, the informant was given a card with either three naturalistic animals or three Muppet characters and asked to select one of the three as the answer. The modified closed questions involved the informant being given photographs from the video-tape, which they were to arrange into sequences and groups in order to answer the questions. The photographic sorting eliminated the need for extensive verbal response from informants. As a consequence, the Cree seemed much more at ease answering questions.

The result of the new technique was that instead of an almost 5% no response rate on the "Edge of Night" survey, "The Muppet" study had a response rate of less than 3%. It is therefore evident that verbal explanations coupled with visual aids served as a useful improvement in obtaining a higher rate of data return in structured interviews with Algonkian people. Both of the video-tape inquiries were based upon a full program minus commercial time. They were shown in informants' homes before an audience of two or three family members who were interviewed by the researcher immediately after the test sequence was viewed. While in the Saulteaux community it had been possible to conduct the entire "Edge of Night" interview in English, "The Muppets" was conducted in community Cree 2[*] where a majority of those individuals in their early thirties and older are not sufficiently fluent in English to be interviewed in that language. Therefore, when it was necessary to do so, an interpreter was used during "The Muppets" research in Cree 2. Despite problems that occurred, due to translation, the pictorial sorting procedure was an effective means of overcoming some linguistic problems and eliciting a higher percentage of response than had been obtained in Jackhead using a strictly verbal response format conducted in English.

Thus, the Video-tape format for conducting cross-cultural media research has proved successful because it provides the same stimuli to both test groups. Further the technique has proved adoptable to changes in the testing procedure (e.g. adding performance tests) and exhibits the potential to be acceptable in many other applications in the future.

PART II: "The Muppets" a cross-cultural study on the Perception of Television.

During the fall of 1978, the Northern Communications Project administrated a wide range questionnaire survey of the reaction to television and it's use in communities Cree 1[**] and Cree 2. Native researchers administered the questionnaire to 25% of the population of both Cree test communities (Pereira 1980 : 364). Of that sample, it was discovered that 25% of the combined sample from both communities disliked the puppet based variety program "The Muppets" (Pereira, 1980, p.374). Although most informants did not state why they disliked "The Muppets", a few indicated that they did not think it was good for children to watch a program with a frog as master of ceremonies. Later discussions with the field worker in Cree 2, revealed that **sentiment** against Kermit, in particular, was more general then the survey itself indicated. Though the survey lacked detailed information on why particularly older Cree informants were worried about a television frog having an influence over

---

[*] Oxford House

[**] Norway House

children, subsequent ethnographic interviews elicited several narrative legends in which the Frog was viewed as having power within the traditional pantheon of animal spirits. In subsequent interviews, informants spoke of a shaman, now dead, that knew how to scrape scales from the stomachs of gigantic magic frogs. This shaman had had a dream in which Frog power had appeared to him and he could perform curing ceremonies with the Frog's scales. People were quick to point out, however, that to accept the frogs offer of "power" on one hand increased your own personal "power" but ultimately it would mean a sacrifice in the form of bad luck, sickness or even death for other members of your family. Most Cree are aware of the old tales that tell of the relationship between people and animals and until the period following the introduction of television, the narrative myth formed a central medium by which Cree mores were passed on from generation to generation. This was done by means of analogies which related the narratives to social behaviour (Hanks, 1980 , p.317). In spite of a knowledge of the traditional narratives by a large segment of both Cree 1 and Cree 2, the number of individuals in either Cree test community who still strictly adhere to the old ways of interpreting Kermit the Frog either as a trickster figure or a shaman is relatively small. In reality it would be quantitatively impossible to calculate the percentage of the population that still adhere to the traditional metaphysical perspective. However, after observing community Cree 2 over a six year period, I would venture to say that only about 5%-10% of the population are acknowledged traditionalists. This would mean that of the 25% of the sample from Cree 1 and Cree 2 who stated that they do not like "The Muppets", only a fraction (2%) of these respondants would have done so on traditional grounds. Although the traditional perspective is becoming an increasingly minor view point, it does not mean that those people in the community who have become the most acculturated into Euro-Canadian society are not still aware of and frequently influenced by "supernatural power" as it exists in the relationship between a shaman and his guardian spirits. Thus, despite the fact that the majority of the Cree in the test communities do not openly adhere to the old religion and its supernatural implications, they are still effected by it through a close association with their elders who pass this knowledge on to them as a way of life. Therefore, despite the rapid social change brought on by a shift to a market economy, Christianity, formal education and the media, a majority of the adult population can still be classed as sensitive enough to the traditional epistemology, that a hypothesis concerning the effect of folklore on the interpretation of television can still be tested. From the statement and testing of a hypothesis designed to examine how frequently Cree versus non Cree speaking people associate real and personified animals, and what attributes they associate with personified animals, it may be possible to quantitatively determine what effect traditional narratives have on the Cree interpretation of "The Muppets" in particular and television in general.

The first step in proposing such a hypothesis is to determine precisely what the traditional perception of animals in Cree society is, and then to compare that perception with a traditional Euro-Canadian concept so that a comparative model can be established to measure the degree of difference between the image of the Frog, as portrayed by Kermit in the "The Muppets", and the Cree conception of the Frog, as presented by the standard Frog, Rabbit narrative in Cree folklore.

The background to the Frog in myths and legends is a world wide phenomena of folk cultures. In nature the frogs and toads are animals capable of undergoing a number of natural transformations. Frogs hatch from an egg into a tad-pole then metamorphose into a frog. As amphibians they live both on land and in the water at will. In order to survive the winter in temperate, and subarctic environments these cold blooded creatures hybernate for at least part of the year and thus, pass through an active and inactive state each year. Finally as part of the hybernation process they burrow into the mud of stream, pond and lake beds, and thus are capable of life both on and below the earth's surface. It is the identification of the frog's natural transition with "... mythical variety that accounts in part for the attitude of the Indians toward the farmer" (Hallowell 1955,p252).

Evidence exists, both in the legends of Cree 1 and 2 and in A. Hallowell's ethnography of the Barren's River Saulteaux, that it is the association of living frogs, toads and snakes with giant mythical reptiles of the past which makes them fearful to the Algonkian. And reports of actual, recent sightings of these mythical giants heightens such fears. Though the approach of any wild animal into the village is viewed as an ill omen and treated as a sign that sorcery is being worked (Hallowell, 1955, pp252-3), the appearance of the frog is particularly loathsome because the frog is associated with blood and conjuring that affects blood and causes illnesses.

Algonkian myths and legends about the frog then fall into three basic categories; those that deal with tricksters and deception, giant monsterous animals and finally the manipulation of blood. In the following overview of the frog and **sorcery**, I will illustrate how a malevolent view of the frog is not restricted to North American Indian lore, but is actually wide spread and is still included in much of Eurasia's folklore.

Traditions from central England attribute healing powers to toad warts due to a substance stored in the warts. Other toads consume glow worm larva (Porter, 1969, p.51). In Cambridgeshire a tradition exists whereby an individual known as the "Toadman" could stop horses dead in their tracks.

> An individual gained this power by catching"... a live toad and either skinning it alive or pegging it to an ant heap until the ants had eaten the bones clean. Then at midnight on a night of full moon he had to go down to a stream and throw in the bones, which were said to scream horribly as he did so. One bone would detach itself from the rest.and point or start to move upstream; this one had to be rescued by the Toadman, who now had his magic power". (Porter, 1969.p56).

The most widely known of the toad and frog lore however, are the "Froggie goes a Courting" and the Frog Prince tales. The earliest versions of "Froggie goes a Courting" appeared in 1580 as "The Marriage of the Frog and the Mouse" (Opie. 1951.p.179) and continued through subsequent variations until the 1960's when it was popularized as a Burl Ives recording. Early forms of the Frog Prince date from a similar time and likewise have endured to the present.

Both Folk narratives, "Froggie Goes a Courting" and the "Frog Prince", underwent a change from relatively violent formats to non violent ones. The mouse in early editions of "Froggie Goes a Courting" is killed by a cat and the frog is described as having been eaten by a duck (with some graphic detail) (Opie. 1951.p. 179). While in the modern rhyme, although they are still eaten it is quickly done in one phrase of the rhyme.

> "He ate up the Frog and the mouse and the rat,
> meow!..." (Bley, 1960.p.63).

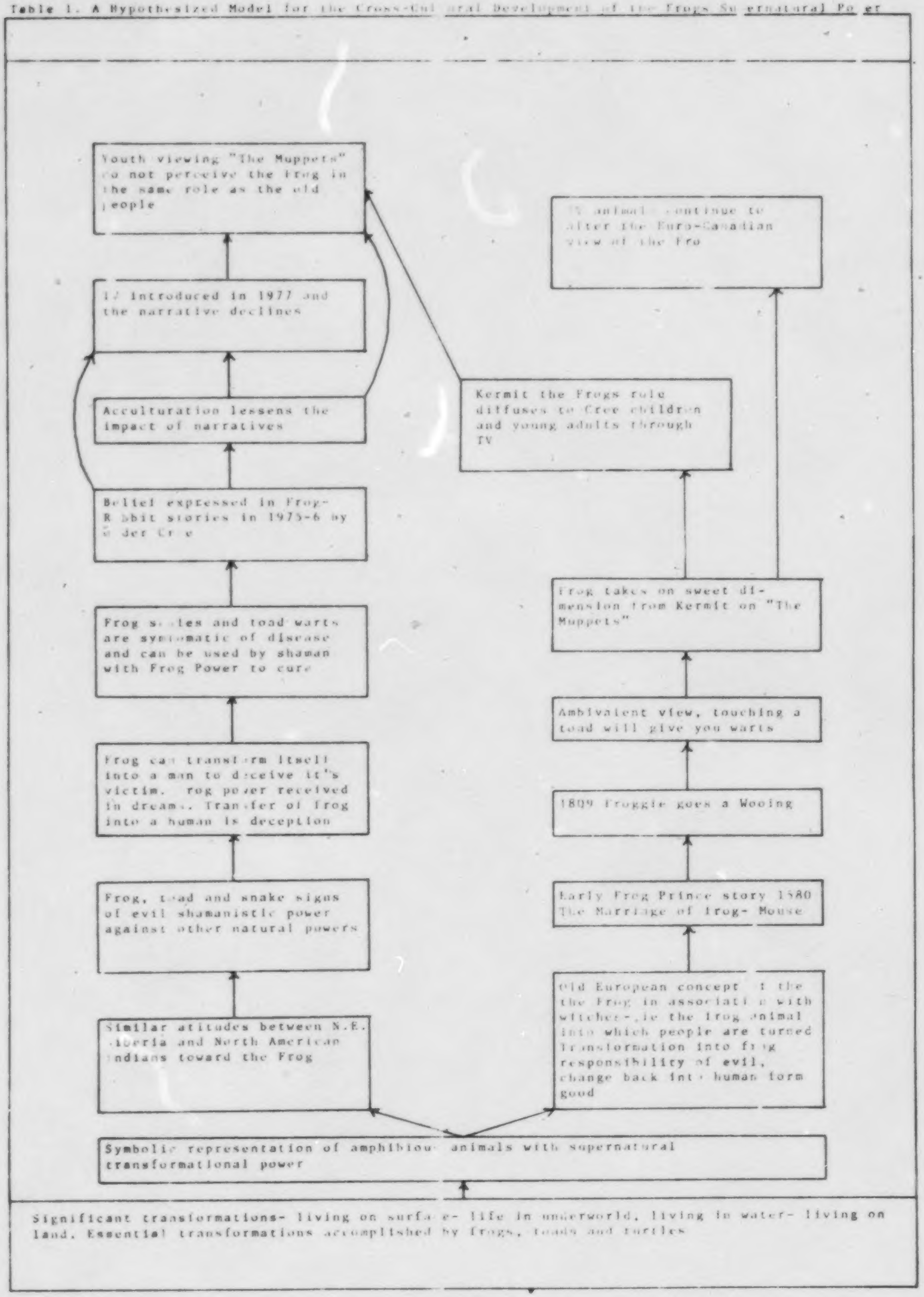
The evolution of the Frog Prince is even more complete. In the traditional variations it is not a kiss, but being thrown on the ground that transforms the Frog into a prince again (Briggs. 1970. p.261). The use of a kiss to transform the Frog into a Prince is a modern development which has no precedent in the traditional literature (Stone.1979 personal communication). But it is this change in attitude about the Frog from repulsive to innocuous which provides the backgound which made Kermit possible for Euro-American and Canadian society.

The shamanistic tradition from which the Algonkian conception of the Frog stems has its roots both in Siberia and North America. Among the Yakut (Siberia) tradition,:

> the "First Shaman" possessed extraordinary power and, in his pride, refused to recognize the supreme God of the Yakut. This shaman's body was made of snakes. God sent down five to burn him, but a toad emerged from the flames; from this creature came the "demons" who in their turn, supplied the Yakut with their outstanding shamans and shamonesses.
>
> (Eliade, 1964, p.68)

To the Cree, the offer of a Frog's power comes in dreams. Though the Frog itself may appear in its own form to offer help, it frequently transforms itself into the form of a man to deceive the would-be beneficiary until after a pact has been made. The deception is necessary. The Frog requires in return for his help a sacrifice to be made from the beneficiary's family. This debt may be paid in ill luck, sickness or even death. When the Frog appears to offer its help, the recipient may either accept or

Table 1. A Hypothesized Model for the Cross-Cultural Development of the Frogs Supernatural Power


Youth viewing "The Muppets" do not perceive the Frog in the same role as the old people
TV introduced in 1977 and the narrative declines
Acculturation lessens the impact of narratives
Belief expressed in Frog-Rabbit stories in 1975-6 by Elder Cree
Frog scales and toad warts are symptomatic of disease and can be used by shaman with Frog Power to cure
Frog can transform itself into a man to deceive it's victim. Frog power received in dreams. Transfer of frog into a human is deception
Frog, toad and snake signs of evil shamanistic power against other natural powers
Similar atitudes between N.E. Siberia and North American Indians toward the Frog
TV animals continue to alter the Euro-Canadian view of the Fro
Kermit the Frogs role diffuses to Cree children and young adults through TV
Frog takes on sweet dimension from Kermit on "The Muppets"
Ambivalent view, touching a toad will give you warts
1809 Froggie goes a Wooing
Early Frog Prince story 1580
The Marriage of Frog- Mouse
Old European concept of the the Frog in association with witches-,ie the frog animal into which people are turned
Transformation into frog responsibility of evil, change back into human form good
Symbolic representation of amphibious animals with supernatural transformational power
Significant transformations- living on surface- life in underworld, living in water- living on land. Essential transformations accomplished by frogs, toads and turtles

reject the offer. If the alliance is rejected the individual may still be required to make a yearly offering to the Frog, but his or her family will be safe. On the other hand if the power is accepted the only way the bond of obligation may be broken is if the recipient sacrifices his or her own life.

Following this scenario through to its conclusion, it is not difficult to see why a traditional Algonkian would be suspicious of the flamboyant friendly Kermit. If the Cree view of the Frog was carried through to its fullest extent, Kermit's motives would be very suspect indeed.

With this background in mind, it is now possible to analyse the role of the Frog in both Euro-Canadian and Cree lore through the use of structural models. For the analysis, two narratives have been chosen. "The Frog Prince" for the European tradition and the "The Frog-Rabbit" myth for the Cree-Algonkian perspective.

In the preparation of this analysis four variations of each narrative had been selected. Each variation was broken down into the shortest possible sentences. Than each sentence was placed upon a file card bearing a number corresponding to its position with in the story. According to Claude Levi-Strauss's format for the structural analysis of myth:

> "Practically each card will thus show that a certain function is, at a given time, linked to a given subject......, each gross constituent unit will consist of a relation.....The true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning." (1973,p.413).

The bundles of Meaning for each variation were compared and combined to produce a standard scenario for both the "Frog Prince" and "The Frog and Rabbit" narratives.

The relational bundles for the two myths were then placed into a two dimensional model. If read from left to right the plot of the stories can be followed. Bundles within the sequence which relate to each other were placed in vertical columns so that by reading down the vertical rows

Table 2 The Frog Rabbit Myth- Cree Ojibwa

Conflict 1.	Power 2.	Lack of Power 3.	Sharing 4.
1.			Union of the Frog and the Rabbit- sharing the rabbit hole
2.		The Rabbit is frightened by the Moose	
3.		The Rabbit is unable to kill the Moose	
4.	The Frog entered the Moose through its ano- and kills it by chewing a vein		
The Frog and the Rabbit quarrel over 5. moose meat			
6.		Wolves come because the Rabbit speaks of them	
7.	The Frog escapes by singing into the moose blood underground		
8.		Rabbit is eaten by the Wolves because it tries to run and hide	
Natural Food Conflict-Sharing	←―――	―――→	Supernatural Power Power-Nonpower

Table [illegible] The Frog Prince Myth- European

Sharing 1.	Conflict 2.	Power 3.	Nonpower 4.
1.			A girl is sent to the well for water
2.		In drawing water a talking frog is encountered	
3.			Frog seeks girl's favor
4.		If the girl accepts she is rewarded	
5.		If she rejects the offer she is punished	
6.		Frog appears at house in formal attire.	
7.	Girl unwilling to admit frog until coerced		
8.			Frog requests dinner
9.	Girl at first unwilling then gives in		
10.			Frog asks to spend night with girl
11.	Girl at first unwilling then gives in		
12.		Through spending night and/or physical violence by the girl the spell on frog broken	
13. Frog turned prince shares his good fortune by marrying girl			

Supernatural Power Power-Nonpower ⟷ Sharing- Conflict Natural Food the meaning of the relationships within the whole narrative may be viewed in a common feature.

From left to right the horizontal rows for "The Frog Prince" (table 3) and "The Frog and Rabbit" (table 2) have been broken down into sharing, conflict, power and non power on the X (1-4) "Axis". The vertical Y axis indicates the total number of bundles within the whole narrative which yields Y (1-13) for "The Frog Prince" and Y (1-8) for "The Frog and the Rabbit". Thus, either narrative can be quickly broken down into its component parts. It is important to note, that although a structural analysis is used, it has been limited to defining an emic **perspective** and has not been extended to an extensive etic interpretation of the myths.

Within both myths there is an interaction between the natural and the supernatural as seen through dichotomy between sharing and conflict in the natural realm and power and nonpower in the super natural realm. In "The Frog Prince" it is through the resolution of power by breaking the spell on the Frog that it is possible for the Prince to share his good fortune and marry the girl. The conflict therefore, is resolved by the Frog moving from a state of power to non-power. However, in "The Frog and the Rabbit" myth, it is the use of power by the Frog that breaks down the act of sharing between the Frog and the rabbit and results in a conflict in which the rabbit, who has no power, ultimately loses.

In European Folklore the Frog is the result of the manipulation of power. For example, a witch might turn someone into a frog or through the medium of the toad, the "Toadman" gains power. Ultimately however, the Frog in and of itself does not have power. The Cree-Algonkian perception of the Frog however, is the opposite. Within the shamanistic traditions of Northern Asia and North America the Frog is a source of power and is sought out in order to form alliances by those striving for power. A basic difference thus emerges between the European tradition where the Frog is manipulated by power and the American perception of the Frog as a source of power.

Because the Frog has direct access to power in Cree Folklore as opposed to the indirect position it maintains in European lore, it would be easy to over state its implied malevolence. Although the Frog is feared, especially by those Cree who do not, in their own right, have enough power to guard against its potential manipulations, it is not generally interpreted as evil. However, according to informant (A) from Cree 2 in an interpretation of the Frog in "The Frog and the Rabbit" story, the Frog is considered wise and knowledgeable. In the story, the rabbit was cowardly and greedy and foolish while the Frog knew how to kill the moose, and escape the wolves. To informant (A) the fact that the Frog did not use his power to save the undeserving rabbit does not make him evil. It is but a fact of life that those with power survive and those without do not. According to the traditional Cree metaphysical perspective, everything in nature has an essence or being. Within Cree epistemology it is the relationships formed between man and the natural essences or spirits during visions which give an individual power. To the traditional Cree, the possession of at least some power is essential to an individual's survival in the frequently harsh sub-arctic environment. This is not to imply that everyone strove to be a shaman, but traditionally all Cree went through a vision quest at puberty where they sought to gain a guardian spirit who assisted them during times of need.

The teachings of Christianity have for Christian Cree caused the traditional spirit relationships to become bonds with the devil. To this group which is now a growing majority of population, not merely frogs, but any of the old guardian spirits are construed as evil. Accordingly, the growth of Christianity and the increase in Western style education have also advanced many concepts of Western scientific materialism. Among these is the concept that the world is inanimate. As a result, those Cree who have accepted Christianity and the Western scientific perspective cannot acknowledge animate nature spirits of which the Frog would have been one. Therefore, the entire body of lore which would yield an association between Kermit and the mythic Cree Frog has been relegated by the acculturated into a category freqently called "lie stories". Thus, with the exception of the traditional Cree (who as previously stated form between 5-10% of the entire population in the test community of Cree 2), the majority of the population, though still sensitive to traditional beliefs, would probably not generate a concept connecting Kermit to traditional power.

Comparatively, a difference in the perception of the Frog exists between the Euro-Canadian and the Cree-Algonkian conception. In traditional European folk lore the Frog was manipulated by witches as a part of the black outs, but it does not usually have power in and of itself. The modern Western view of the Frog seems to have moderated considerably, and now, the Frog is no longer considered particularly evil and is treated ambivalently. This change in attitude is exemplified in "The Frog Prince" where the princess now kisses the Frog, an action without precedent in the traditional narrative. Conversely in the traditional Cree narrative the Frog is an animal with considerable supernatural power of its own. Unlike the Euro-Canadian conception of the Frog which has moved away from the idea of the Frog possessing supernatural power, the Cree have continued to interpret the role of the Frog in myth sequences as a manipulator of power.

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THE VIDEO - TAPE STUDY "THE MUPPETS"

Operationalizing the video-tape research required that assumptions about the back ground of the Frog in Cree and European folklore be combined with existing data on "The Muppets" to formulate a working hypothesis that could be tested using the video-tape technique. In this analysis we will deal with the difference between the test community of Cree 2 and the Euro-Canadian content. Thus, at this stage we are interested in defining overall cultural differences in the data.

This paper will more specifically deal with three aspects of the total study: the role stero-typing of real and symbolic animals, "The Muppet" word associations, and part of the sentence completions. In this initial phase of analysis, portions of the research design were chosen which throw the greatest light upon relationships between interpretations of "The Muppets" and traditional folklore.

The role stereo-type analysis is based upon material developed by George Gerbner (The Annenberg School of Communications) and later refined by Gary Granzberg for Northern research (1979. p.84). Despite precedents for the technique's use with people, this is the first time it has been used to compare perceptions of real and symbolic animals. The stero-type question was based upon scenario in which: One of the animals is bad. The bad animal captures another animal, then a good animal rescues the captured one. This format was first presented to the informant with three natural animals - a Frog, a pig and a bear. The question was then read to the informant again and this time he or she was presented with Kermit, Miss Piggy, and Fozzie as choices.

We employed the stereo-type question to assess the extent to which real animal stereo-types are carried over onto perceptions of puppet characters. Other evidence (from ethnographic observation, interviewing, and questionnaires) had suggested that, at least for the Cree, the carry over should be strong.

Initial analysis of the stereo-type material utilized Friedman's matched samples test. This statistic was applied to determine whether any of the role categories (i.e., bad, captured, or good) was significantly associated with any of the real animals or their puppet counterparts. Table 4 presents the results.

According to those scores, on the category "bad", the real Bear emerges as bad for both the Cree and Euro-Canadian sample. For the symbolic interpretation, Fozzie Bear emerges as bad for the Euro-Canadian sample at a minimal level of significance, while none of the symbolic animals emerge as bad for the Cree sample.

TABLE 4.

		Bad	Captured	Good
Euro Canadian	Bear	.00013 HS	NS	NS
	Pig	NS	.029	NS
	Frog	NS	NS	.072 MS
	Fozzie	.072 MS	NS	NS
	Piggy	NS	NS	NS
	Kermit	NS	NS	NS
Cree 2	Bear	.0055 HS	NS	NS
	Pig	NS	NS	.012
	Frog	NS	.0017 HS	NS
	Fozzie	NS	NS	NS
	Piggy	NS	NS	NS
	Kermit	NS	NS	NS

HS = High degree of significance

MS = Marginal degree of significance

NS = No degree of significance

In the captured category the pig emerges with a minimum degree of significance for the Euro-Canadian control group, while the frog is the captured animal among the Cree with a high degree of significance. Neither the test nor control group indicate any of the symbolic animals as emerging under the category of captured.

Finally in the good category the Frog emerged with a minimal degree of significance for the Euro-Canadian sample and the pig with the minimal significance with the Cree. Again there was no symbolic animal which emerged significant for either the Euro-Canadian or the Cree sample, with the exception of Fozzie Bear displaying a minimal significance for bad.

Although this restricted analysis yields little evidence of the persistence of stereotypes from the real animal world to puppet counterparts, a comparative analysis of the extent to which priorities changed when subjects were moving from the categorization of real animals to the

Top

MacGregor, Manitoba

(Photo Hanks)

Bottom

The video-tape interview in progress at the Edward Ross home Jackhead, Manitoba.

(Photo Steinbring)

categorization of puppet counterparts shows that Cree are more consistent than Euros. While Cree priorities changed, on average, by 21%, Euro priorities changed, on average, by 38% (t=1.7, p=.05) (see table 5).

TABLE 5

Extent to which Role Classification Priorities Change When Dealing with Muppet Characters as Compared to Real Animal Counterparts

Role Category	Community	Animal-Puppet Combination	% Who Changed Role Classification Priorities
Good	Cree 2	Bear-Fozzie	37%
		Pig--Miss Piggy	32%
		Frog-Kermit	5%
Bad	Cree 2	Bear-Fozzie	46%
		Pig--Miss Piggy	38%
		Frog-Kermit	8%
Captured	Cree 2	Bear-Fozzie	11%
		Pig--Miss Piggy	8%
		Frog-Kermit	3%
			21% (overall average)
Good	Euro	Bear-Fozzie	59%
		Pig--Miss Piggy	15%
		Frog-Kermit	41%
Bad	Euro	Bear-Fozzie	68%
		Pig--Miss Piggy	59%
		Frog-Kermit	5%
Captured	Euro	Bear-Fozzie	8%
		Pig--Miss Piggy	49%
		Frog-Kermit	35%
			38% (overall average)
			t=1.7, p=.05

The data in Table 5 support the conclusion that Cree stereotypes of real animals are carried over to television and influence perceptions of television puppet characters.

The word association contained eleven selections - a) smart, b) gossipy, c) pushy, d) powerful, e) sad, f) funny, g) tricky, h) bad, i) good, j) dangerous and k) helpful. For each selection informants were given a card with pictures of Kermit, Miss Piggy and Fozzie Bear and asked to pick one of the three animals which corresponded to each word. The premise behind the word association was that the two cultural groups would characterize the three animals in a different manner. The null hypothesis was that if one cultural group showed a statistically significant correlation between a word and an animal then the other group would exhibit the same correlation. The word association was analysed with the Friedman's Test for Matched Samples. The statistic was applied to each scoring category: i.e. smart, gossipy, pushy, powerful, sad, funny, tricky, bad, good, dangerous and helpful in comparison with Fozzie, Piggy and Kermit. The significance levels for the scored categories indicate the degree to which one of the real or symbolic animals emerges as exemplifying that trait. The Friedman scores are indicated in table 6. According to these scores, in the Euro-Canadian sample Kermit emerges as smart, good and helpful; while in the Cree sample Kermit is smart, tricky, good and helpful. Piggy is shown by the Euro-Canadian sample to be gossipy, pushy, bad and dangerous, whereas in the Cree sample she was classed simply as gossipy and pushy. Finally, Fozzie Bear emerged in the Euro-Canadian sample as sad, funny and tricky while in the Cree sample he was powerful and dangerous.

Thus the Cree conceive of Kermit as tricky and Fozzie as powerful and dangerous, while the Euro-Canadian control see Miss Piggy as bad and dangerous and Fozzie as sad, funny and tricky.

TABLE 6 .

	Euro-Canadian			Cree		
	Kermit	Piggy	Fozzie	Kermit	Piggy	Fozzie
Smart	.0017/HS	NS	NS	.0055/HS	NS	NS
Gossipy	NS	.029	NS	NS	.052	NS
Pushy	NS	.0081/HS	NS	NS	.012	NS
Powerful	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.072
Sad	NS	NS	.0017/HS	NS	NS	NS
Funny	NS	NS	.052	NS	NS	NS
Tricky	NS	NS	.029	.029	NS	NS
Bad	NS	.052	NS	NS	NS	NS
Good	.029	NS	NS	.0055/HS	NS	NS
Dangerous	NS	.029	NS	NS	NS	.0055/HS
Helpful	.0017/HS	NS	NS	.029	NS	NS

HS - highly significant MS - marginally significant

NS - no significance

In terms of traditional Cree views, a trick Frog is in keeping with the concept of the frog as a trickster figure and a powerful, dangerous bear is appropriate within the Algonkian concept of a bear's supernatural power. On the basis of the word associations it would be reasonable to assume that the personification of "The Muppet" characters is influenced by traditional Native conceptions of these animals.

In opposition to the Cree, the Euro-Canadian description of the piggy as bad and dangerous fits a Western concept of the pig that is portrayed by George Orwell in Animal Farm. Within Orwells story the pigs are the pompous, ruthless ruling class of a barn yard which has turned into an autocratic state. Although there does not seem to be any precedent for the pig possessing this role in the traditional folklore, it does appear to be an accepted modern image of the pig. The Euro-Canadian conception of Fozzie

Bear as sad, funny and tricky is somewhat more difficult to understand. The image of the bear in children's stories such as Winnie the Pooh and Paddington Bear is sad, and funny, but such bears are seldom tricky. Tricky within the Euro-Canadian sample may then be a neutral category as sad and funny were for the Cree sample.

The sentence completions consisted of 14 open ended questions, of those 4 have been selected for use in this analysis because they pertain to the perceived roles of the "The Muppet" characters. The sentences used in this analysis then are:-

1) The evil person in the show was? 2) The person who was the hero was?
5) Puppets are alive because? 12) Who causes the most troubles?.

These four sentences were designed to define the roles played by the characters in the program. It was hypothesized that these roles would be based upon cultural factors and that therefore, there should be a difference between the Euro-Canadian and the Cree samples. The null hypothesis therefore, is that there should be no difference between the two sample populations in the nature of response offered as solutions for the questions.

Because the data for the sentence completions were collected from open ended questions, the responses are correspondingly less structured than the answers from the closed ended questions. The analysis therefore, is based solely upon the percentage of each of the various responses received (see table 7).

Question 1.

("The evil person on the show was?") exhibits a difference of response between the Cree test population and the Euro-Canadian control group. The most significant among these would be the response by 21% of the Cree population that there was no evil person in "The Muppets" test sequence. There is no equivalent response to this in the Euro-Canadian sample and therefore indicates a difference between the test and control groups. In comparison to the Euro-Canadian sample, the Cree sample showed much more polarity in their answers, animals were either good or bad as opposed to the Euro-Canadian tendency to be more fluid in their judgements.

TABLE 7. Answers to Four Sentence Completions

Question Number	Cree		Euro-Canadian	
(1)	Piggy	36%	Old men	28%
	no evil person	21%	Piggy	25%
	Real bear	14%	No response	17%
	Swiss Chef	14%	J.Denver, Mad Bomber Gonzo, Swiss Chef Ann S. & Tree	17%
	Gonzo	8%	War characters	8%
	Tree Devil	7%	Mountain Goat	5%
(2)	Kermit	64%	John Denver	44%
	no response	12%	Kermit	30%
	John Denver	12%	no response	15%
	Bear	8%	Bear	7%
	Mountain Climber	1%	Piggy	4%
(5)	Not alive	54%	Manipulated by people	74%
	No response	18%	Imagination	18.5%
	Manipulated by people	14%	Not alive or no response	7.5%
	TV makes alive	11%		
	Act like people	4%		
(12)	Miss Piggy	50%	Miss Piggy	67%
	Fozzie Bear, Mt.Goat Kermit & real bear	17%	Gonzo, war, animal,J.Denver Kermit, Fozzie, An S.	20%
	Crazy Harry	8%	no response	8%
	Gonzo	8%	Swiss Chef	5.5%
	Squirrel	8%		
	No response	8%		

In both question 1 and question 2 ("The person who was the hero was?"), Euros show a preference for puppets that represent people (i.e. the old men in question (1) or an actual person in question 2 (i.e. John Denver). This contrasts with the Cree response where puppet animals (i.e. Miss Piggy in question 1 and Kermit in question 2) were used to answer both questions. The variation in answers may be an indication of cultural acceptance by the Cree of animal personification, while the control group shies away from close association with personified animals. However, any conclusions to this end would be premature at this stage of the research. For the moment, it is enough to note that the difference exists.

Question 12.

('Who causes the most troubles?") shows no significant difference between the two samples and therefore, conforms to the null hypothesis.

Finally question 5 ("Puppets are alive because?") presents an interesting dichotomy between the Cree, who overwhelmingly maintain that puppets are not alive and the Euro-Canadian control, who state that puppets are alive because they are manipulated by people and follow up by stating that imagination is the factor that allows us to perceive them as living within the realm of entertainment. One possible explanation of this phenomena is that the Cree are not making a sharp distinction between reality and make-believe as entertainment while the Euro-Canadian group is more willing to accept an illusion of reality as being entertainment. This contention is supported by Elihu Katz in his work on the clash of culture and the media. Katz maintains that:

> ...the distinction between information, education and entertainment is of no relevance....(1977.p.118)

to non Western cultures. Within these parameters, what is important is not the acceptance of the cue of make believe within entertainment but whether or not entertainment is accepted as a separate entity of itself. If as Katz maintains, information, education and entertainment are one phenomena to the Cree then ultimately an acceptance of "The Muppets" as purely entertainment cannot be possible.

Therefore, within Cree epistemology the mass media can only be viewed as a total experience, a combination of information, education and entertainment. If, as many Cree informants maintain,"The Muppets" do not fulfill this triadic role, then the program would not be an acceptable format to them.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, our cross-cultural research on the interpretation of television has deduced two levels of cultural content. First a difference arises between the Euro-Canadian control and the Native (Cree and Saulteaux) samples with regard to expectations of information transmission. For both the "Edge of Night" and "The Muppets", the Euro-Canadian control group's primary expectation was that the program would provide them with entertainment. The Native sample conversely demands that programs not only be entertaining, but provide information, education and entertainment within the total format. This dichotomy between the Western concept of entertainment as a separate entity and the Native perspective of entertainment as a fundamental element of information processing, is essential to Native interpretation of television. The "Edge of Night" is broadly accepted by Algonkian groups (the linguistic group both Cree and Saulteaux are part of) because in addition to entertainment, it provides, according to our informants, essential information on the law, health care and social interaction within Euro-Canadian society (Hanks, 1979 p.146). "The Muppets" on the other hand, is not considered useful in terms of providing information about the world, because the puppets used in the "The Muppets" are not thought to be real; as a result many Cree informants reject it's entertainment value as being negligible without a corresponding and educational experience.

Second, on a deeper level, we found that the interpretation of some aspects of the media is based upon cultural factors found in the folklore of both the Euro-Canadian and the Cree samples. Through the usage of structural analysis, it was possible to define the role of the Frog in the Cree "Frog and the rabbit" myth and the Euro-Canadian "Frog Prince" narrative. As a result of this analysis a difference between the traditional Cree and the traditional Euro-Canadian perception of the Frog was defined. The Frog in Cree mythology is conceived of as an animal with shamanistic powers while in the Euro-Canadian myth the Frog is seen more as an animal which can be manipulated by people with supernatural power. In both societies however, the nature of the Frog's supernatural power is derived from its ability to be transformed. When traditional perceptions of the Frog were applied to "The Muppets" show, we found that the Euro-Canadian sample did not, to any significant degree, associate traditional views of the Frog as an animal who was manipulated by black magic. Rather, they accepted Kermit as the innocuous, friendly host he is portrayed as on the program. The Cree however, did apply the traditional role of the Frog as trickster to Kermit.

Further, within the Cree sample, there is the response (which represents about 3% of the community)that like the mythical Frog, Kermit, behind his friendly facade, is deceitful and dangerous. Although it cannot be proven conclusively because of the small sample size, it is probable that the extremely negative view of Kermit is maintained by an older, traditionally sensitive, yet Christian oriented segment of the population who would consider any contacts with the supernatural to be associations with the devil.

It can therefore be postulated as a result of the "The Muppets" and "Edge of Night" investigations, that Euro-Canadians accept and use television primarily as entertainment, whereas Algonkians seem to reject television as purely entertaining and demand a more informative content. The concept of entertainment as part of the informational and educational process goes beyond television, and is more fundamentally expressed in the Cree narratives, which, on one level provided entertainment, but on a deeper level, through the use of metaphor,become a principle method of socialization for the Cree.

If television is to be brought more in line with Native needs and desires, programming will have to provide, within an entertaining format, accurate information on the outside world. Whether or not future programming is "specialized" Native television, or simply "improved" prime time broadcasting, the concept of a sophisticated blend of entertainment and information is the key to meeting mature demands in programming. With this scenario of television as an educational implement, its probable impact upon traditional methods of socialization such as the narrative myth is enormous. Television will in fact, if it has not already done so, become the new myth maker of Algonkian society.

This then brings us back to the question of the cross-cultural sensitivity of television programming andthe need to understand that content which impacts in Western society as mindless entertainment and might not be received in the same manner in non Western cultures. Ultimately, the importance of Kermit the Frog is that he represents for Euro-Canadian culture a lovable entertaining personified animal and in Cree society a trickster with possible supernatural implications. Kermit, then, is but one example of the cultural impact of television. The existence of his dual roles however, reinforces the principle that the interpretation of television is a culturally based phenomena.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bley, Edger
1960 — The Best Singing Games for Children of All Ages. (New York: Sterling Publishing Company Inc.)

Eliade, Mircea
1964 — Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ectasy, translated by W.R. Trosk (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Granzberg, Gary
1979 — "The Introduction of Television Into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community: Some Reflections upon its Meanings, its Uses and its Effects "in Steinbring, Granzberg Per eira and Hanks. The Impact and Meaning of Televison Among Native Communities in Northern Manitoba (Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg and Communications Canada).

Hanks, Christopher
1979 — "Edge of Night" in native and non native societies: A Pilot Study o the Use of Video-Tpe to Elicit Cross-Cultural Data on the Perception and Meaning of Televison Programs" in Steinbring, et al.

1980 — "Television Among the Oxford House Cree" in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada. Winnipeg, Univ. of Winnipeg.

Halbwell, A. Irving
1955 — Culture and Experience (New York: Shocken Books).

Katz, Elihu.
1977 — "Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?" Journal of Communications, vol. 27, No. 2..

Levi-Strauss, Claude
1973 — "The Structural Study of Myth" in Bohannan and Glazer, ed. High Points in Anthropology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).

Opie, Iona and Peter
1951
The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press).

Orwell, George
1946
Animal Farm. (New York: New American Library).

Pereira, Cecil
1980
"When Television Invades Remote Northern Communities", in Granzberg and Steinbring (eds.) *Television and the Canadian Indian*.

Porter, Enid
1969
Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore (Long: Routhedge and Kegan Paul)

Ray C. and Stevens, J.
1971
Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited)

APPENDIX

Interview Schedule for Video-Tape "Muppets" Experiment

VIDEO TAPE MUPPETS EXPERIMENT

I. One of these animals is bad. The bad animal captures another animal, then a good animal rescues the captured one. Two runs - one with real animals, one with muppets (3 animals used - Frog, pig, bear and Kermit, Piggie and Fozzie--see pp. 442-443).

II. Plot Sequence.
The informant will be given 10 pictures of the video-tape test sequence.
1. He or she will then be asked to place the pictures in the order they occurred in the test sequence.
2. The informant will further be asked to pick the picture of the scene he or she liked best, and to explain why.
3. Which of the scenes did you like least, and to explain why?
4. The subject will be asked to put the pictures into at least 3 piles to represent important parts of the program. They will then be asked to explain why they broke the show up as they did. What does each pile of pictures have in common? Why do they go together?

III. Categorizing animals by the "which ones belong together" method.
The imformants will be given 9 individual pictures of muppet characters. They will then be asked to group the animals together which they feel belong together (at least 3 piles). Next they will be asked to explain why they have made the choices they did. Finally they will be given the 10th picture of Kermit the frog and asked to place him in the group to which he belongs - why.

Animal stereo-type test.

IV. Using 10 different muppet characters, ask:
Two of these animals are in love, but another one wants to break it up and steal one of the lovers for himself.
a. Who are the lovers
b. Who wants to break it up
c. Which one does the jealous one want for his or her self.

V. Sentence Completion.
1. The evil person in the show was?
2. The person who was the hero was?
3. The funniest part of the show was when?
4. The part you did not like was when?
5. Puppets are alive because?
6. Why was Miss Piggy mad at Kermit the frog?
7. Who is really in charge on the muppets?
8. Who really makes the decisions?
9. What puppet is the saddest figure?
10. Who do you feel sorry for?
11. Which one is funniest?
12. Who causes the most troubles?
13. Which character do you dislike the most?
14. Which character do you like the most?

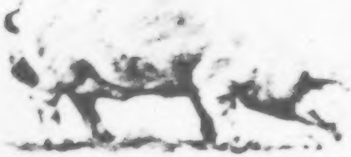
VI. Choose either (1) Kermit the Frog, (2) Miss Piggy or (3) Fozzie Bear to fit the following description - each animal can be used as many times as you like.
a. smart
b. gossipy
c. pushy
d. powerful
e. sad
f. funny
g. tricky
h. bad
i. good
j. dangerous
k. helpful

VII. Do you think children should watch the show?

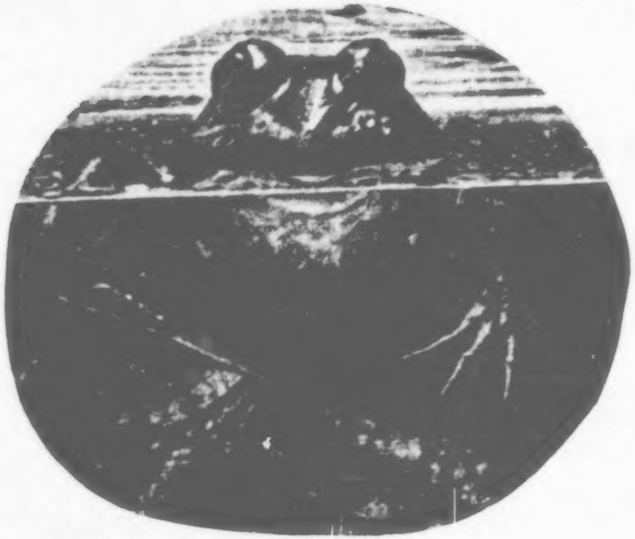
VIII. If no, what might be harmful?

IX. Select the five pictures from all those used which you feel are most important to the program

A



B



C

1

2

3

CHAPTER 13

AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECT OF TELEVISION UPON CONSUMER BUYING TRENDS IN TWO NORTHERN NATIVE COMMUNITIES

by

Nancy Hanks

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to Mr. George Tidmarsh, Manager of Manitoba District 1 for the Hudson's Bay Company, National Stores Department for all of his help and co-operation in obtaining the sales data for the three stores in our two study communities. Without his aid, this study would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank Dr. Gary Granzberg, Co-director of the Cross Cultural Communications Project for his comments and suggestions. They have been most helpful.

In addition, I would like to express my deep appreciation to my husband Christopher Hanks for his thoughts, comments and patience.

Finally, all interpretations in this paper are the result of my analysis and any misinterpretation of the data is solely the responsibilith of the author.

This article is one in a series designed to discuss the impact of television upon northern Native communities. The purpose of this particular study was to examine the effects which the media, with particular emphasis upon television, is having upon sales trends at the Hudson's Bay Company stores (hereafter know as the Bay) in the two northern Native Manitoba communities of Cree 1[*] and Cree 2.[**] It should be noted at this time that, with one exception, the Bay stores are the only retail outlets in the communities.

The original idea for this study was conceived by Christopher Hanks in January of 1979. At the time, the Cross Cultural Communications Project (then known as the Northern Communications Project) had spent the last five years investigating the impact of the introduction of television into Native communities in northern Manitoba. Of the two communities mentioned in this study, Cree 1 was the first to receive television in December of 1973. Subsequent documentation of the effects of television on the people at Cree 1 (Hamer, Steinbring, _et al_, 1974; Hamer, Steinbring _et al,_ 1975; Steinbring, Granzberg _et al_ 1979) has lead Granzberg to estimate that, during the almost seven years since its introduction, television's impact upon the people of Cree 1 should have become more predictable and that this would be reflected in the sales trends at the two Bay stores located in Cree 1 (Granzberg, 1980, Personal Communication). Cree 2, on the other hand, only received television in July of 1977 and thus we might expect the people in the community to be going through some sort of adjustment period as they are suddenly baraged with new information from the rest of Euro-Canada. In keeping with the hypothesis, one would then anticipate that sales trends would, at best, be erratic and possibly increasing in the areas of those items or products one customarily views as a part of television programs and advertisements.

In order to test our hypothesis, we required the assistance and co-operation of the Bay stores in Cree 1 and Cree 2. Initial contact with Mr. George Tidmarsh, Manager of the Manitoba 1 District, Hudson's Bay Company National Stores Department was made by C. Hanks and the study was then turned over to the author. With Mr. Tidmarsh's co-operation, questionnaires[***] concerning the quantities of specific goods sold at the Bay stores in Cree 1 and Cree 2 were sent to the managers of the Bay stores. Information was requested for the years 1976 to 1979 inclusive. Our major interests lay in seeing what, if any, appreciable changes in quantities of goods being sold had taken place from one year to the next. Categories included in the questionnaire were: televisions, television tables, antennae, decorative shelving, radios, record players, tape decks, tape recorders, 8 tracks, cassettes, records, paperbacks, comic books, magazines, shampoos, toothpastes, soaps, aftershaves, perfumes, makeup, handcreams, deoderants, aspirin, cold remedies, liniments, nose sprays, cough syrups and drops, laundry and dish soaps, cleaning products, furniture polish, electrical appliances, pantyhose, tea and coffee, children's pre-sweetened cereals, frozen foods, cake mixes, milk, eggs, popcorn and potato chips.

---

[*] Norway House
[**] Oxford House
[***] see Appendix 2

The initial questionnaire was sent out in February of 1979. Responses were received from June through to the end of July 1979. Upon receipt of the initial questionnaires it was realized that our 1979 figures were either three month (January - March) or six month (January - June) sales figures. In order to avoid having to estimate the year end figures for 1979, the author once again called upon Mr. Tidmarsh for assistance. In addition to the year end figures, additional information was requested on the following: name brand soft drinks, games, and children's toys.

Upon receipt of the second set of questionnaires the data was compiled and placed in the chart form found in Appendix 1. Prior to any discussion of the data, however, it now becomes necessary to describe Cree 1 and Cree 2 and then to attempt to discuss the data in relation to the cultural and economic settings of the two communities. It is hoped that by drawing a parallel between Cree 1 and Cree 2's experience with advertising and the media to that of the larger Euro-Canadian and American population during its inital experience with the same phenomena, that a pattern will emerge which will help to explain the sales trends found in Appendix 1.

Cree 1 is located approximately three hundred air miles north of Winnipeg, Manitoba. It consists of three communities located along a ten mile stretch of both banks of the Nelson River. A fourth community is situated on one of the two islands which divides the Nelson River into three channels. For the purpose of this paper, however, we will only concern ourselves with those sections of Cree 1 which surround the two Bay stores located in the community.

Store A is located on one of the two islands, along its southern shore. It services approximately half of the community's three thousand inhabitants (Granzberg, 1980, Personal Communication). The store is reported to have a greater variety of stock to offer its customers. Several other services including a restaurant and the post office are also located near Store A.

Store B is located on the reserve portion of the community about six miles from Store A. Located at this end of the community are the Band Offices, a senior citizens nursing home, and a public school (Granzberg 1979, p. 3).

Historically, Cree 1 was a Hudson's Bay Company trading post established around 1814 to 1817 (Rich 1967, p. 211). The ancestors of the present day inhabitants settled in and near the site as a result of their increased involvement with the fur trade. The Metis who live near Store A are the descendants of Indian women and traders, administrators, and various other white men who passed through Cree 1 (Hamer, Steinbring, et al 1974). Those who live on the reserve near Store B are , for the most part, descendants of those Native people who took treaty at the time of the signing of Treaty Five.

For a relatively long period of time, Cree 1 was a fairly isolated community. It has been accessible by a permanent all-weather road only since 1977 and prior to that time by a temporary winter road (Hanks 1980, Personal Communication). In addition to the road connecting Cree 1 to Winnipeg, there has recently been opened up an all-weather road which allows people from Cree 1 access to Thompson which is approximately one hundred air miles away.

Newspapers from Winnipeg (two dailies) and from Thompson are received by people in the community. Information about the world at large can also be obtained via the radio stations from Winnipeg and Thompson as well as CBC Northern Services. In addition to the three commercial radiostations Cree 1 has its own Native broadcasting station which commenced operating in the mid 1970's.

Television was first introduced to the people of Cree 1 in December of

1973 (Granzberg 1979. p. 5). According to Granzberg's most recent estimation, approximately ninety-eight per cent of the people at Cree 1 are now engaging in the past-time of watching television. A general pattern has emerged where the television set is left on for most of the day and children and adults alike incorporate television watching into their daily cycle of activities. For the people at Cree 1, television viewing is a discontinuous event - people will watch for a while, go away to eat, visit friends or perform some task and then return to watch again.

According to Granzberg (1980, Personal Communication) most of the people who live on the reserve at Cree 1 live in an extended family situation where a household would consist of ten to fifteen members. Of those ten to fifteen members, approximately half would be young children. This means then, that Cree 1 has a demographically young population. Among the adults, Granzberg feels that at least one has a permanent job and brings in a good salary. Of the rest, perhaps two to three are receiving some form of social assistance while another may hold a part-time job (1980, Personal Communication). For those people living on the reserve at Cree 1 no taxes or house payments must be met hence they are relieved of that additional burden. The Euro-Canadian and Metis people who live close to Store A are not as fortunate but generally their family size is smaller and they too have access to a variety of forms of social assistance.

Granzberg estimates that approximately twenty per cent of the men in Cree 1 are employed in seasonal jobs such as construction and forest fire fighting (1980, Personal Communication). People are also employed as bus drivers, handymen, and custodians. Employment for the most part is scarce so family members are often faced with long periods of unemployment. During such times, people may hunt, fish or trap furs to supplement their diet and income or may leave the community temporarily to try their luck in the larger centre such as Thompson and Winnipeg.

For many of the people of Cree 1, it is often a "Feast or Famine" situation. When there is money in the household it is spent, and when there is none, people do without.

Cree 2 is located approximately three hundred and eighty air miles north of Winnipeg and is a good deal more isolated from the rest of Euro-Canada than is Cree 1. Located on the north-east shore of Oxford Lake, Cree 2 is accessible to the south by a temporary winter road during the winter months and by air on a year round basis, weather permitting. The houses are strung out along the lake shore and are backed by a four and one half mile stretch of gravel road which links the two ends of the community. At the southernmost end of the community is found the Roman Catholic and Evangelical Missions. A little further to the north is located the Pentecostal Chruch, the nursing station, the Hydro generators, the new school which was complete in 1975 and contains Kindergarten through grade eleven, and the teacherages. A few hundred yards further to the north and east is the air strip. At the far end of the village is the United Church and the Bay store , a little further beyond.

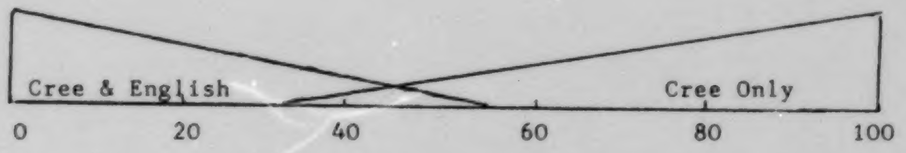
Like Cree 1 , Cree 2's establishment as a permanent community came about as the result of the fur trade. The original Hudson's Bay Company post was established in 1798 and has since been inhabited by both Cree and mix-blooded English-Cree descendants of the fur trade era. With the signing of the Treaty in 1909, all those families who had no white members of the family living with them at the time were encouraged by their friends and relatives to say nothing lest they too should lose their status (Hanks 1980, p. 265). With the signing of Treaty Five, the area around Cree 2 was created into a reserve. Today, 979 of Cree 2's 1,110 population are treaty Indians. The remainder of the population consists of Euro-Canadian nurses, teachers, hydro employees and Hudson"s Bay Company employees.

Unlike Cree 1, Cree 2 has no local radio station but depends upon broadcasts from Thompson and the CBC Northern Services via MTS microwave. Television was introduced to the people of Cree 2 in July of 1977. The impact of its introduction was documented by Hanks in 1979 (Hanks 1979, pp. 130-153). The amount of time spent during the day watching television varies. Young children, like those in Cree 1 , watch it on a discontinuous basis (Hanks 1979, p. 149) whereas older children and teenagers whose command of the English language is better than the very young and the very old, may spend several hours a day engaged in television viewing.

According to Hanks, there are about one hundred and fifty households in Cree 2 containing a nuclear or extended family with four to five children present. Cree 2 also has a demographically young population with 338 or 34.5 % of the population under ten years of age and 554 or 56.6 % of the population under twenty years of age. This factor becomes very important when one considers that about 13 % of the entire population is supporting the other 87 %.

Men at Cree 2 are employed on brush cutting operations(under private or Indian Affairs contracts), housing construction, or working on the winter roads. There are also about fifteen Native employees at the Bay store, a home/school co-ordinator,a Native secretary , janitors, and cleaning ladies (Hanks 1980, Personal Communication). Because of the shortage of jobs in Cree 2 , their incomes are supplemented by various forms of social assistance including baby bonus, youth allowance, unemployment insurance, old age pensions and welfare. However, in spite of the economic support they receive, this is often not sufficient to support a family. Therefore, men frequently return to the more traditional occupations of hunting, trapping and fishing in order to supplement the diet and income. For those who engage in trapping and commercial fishing, Hanks estimates that the most successful of these men participating in these activities can earn $ 6000.00 and $ 5000.00 respectively (1980, Personal Communication).

In both Cree 1 and Cree 2, Cree and English are spoken in mixed proportions. Amongst the treaty people who live in Cree 1 it is estimated for 1978 that 41.7 % of the people speak English in the home, while approximately 50 % of the people speak predominantly Cree in the home and 8.3 % speak a mixture of English and French (Pereira 1980, Personal Communication). Concerning the comprehension of English programmes on television, Granzberg estimates that 10 % of the people do not comprehend very much of the dialogue while another 10% understand almost all of the dialogue. The remaining 80% of the population, Granzberg states, probably miss ¼ or more of what is being said (1980, Personal Communication). Among the people of Cree 2 there are those who speak both English and Cree and those who speak only Cree but may understand some English. Of the Natives in Cree 2, only a very small percentage of the people speak English and this might be one or two children whose parents are English and Cree speakers but who prefer to have their children speak English as their primary language. There is no set age which divided the Cree speakers from the bilingual members of the community. Between the ages of 30 to 70 there is a great deal of variability as to how many people at each age are either mono or bilingual (Hanks 1980, Personal Communication). Visually, the distribution can be expressed as the following :



Language becomes an important issue when one realizes that television is both an auditory and visual means of communication. For those viewers who do not understand English or who only have a limited comprehension of the language television viewing can be frustrating and confusing.

Television is what Hanks describes as a secondary interaction (1980 p.288). What this means is that neither the originator of a message (in this case , those people who sponsor,write, direct,produce and act in television programmes and advertisements) nor the recipients of the message, that is the peoples in Cree 1 and 2, are in each others presence but rely on a medium such as television to convey the message. The obvious problem that exists with this form of message relay is that there is no way of knowing if the message intended is the one which is received. The originators of the message have no way of knowing what effect their message is having upon those people who receive it.

This is the major problem with the introduction of English speaking television programmes into non-English speaking communities. As paradoxical as it may sound, the communications industry in Euro-Canada has undergone a breakdown in communications.

The question which remains of course, is how are people in isolated northern Native communities interpreting these messages and how are they, as consumers, reacting to those messages.

Advertising and television programming in general, is not geared specifically towards the northern Native populations. It is aimed at Euro-American and Canadian populations who have grown up with and along side the media industry. More importantly, and as Stuart Ewen points out, the history of advertising is a part of our social history.

Our ancestors, our grandfathers and our great-grandfathers. grew up in a time when industrialization was just being accepted. It was more than just a new way of producing goods, it was a new way of socialization (Ewen 1976, p.6). They bore witness to those times when men were employed to work for low wages, in unsavoury conditions and for long hours. With the advent of mass production, it was realized that:

> ...the machine mode of production could not be stabilized until it had also been socialized...

Poverty, at the time, was not defined in terms of wage levels, but in terms of the quality of life. Wages were seen as simply another means of oppression and social control. What was needed by the industries and employers was a new method of social control - a means of pacifying social relations. It was felt that perhaps the pacified social relations could be the products of the industrial process (Ewen 1976,p. 14). With this realization workers could also become consumers.

At the time, however, money prevented those who worked in industry from becoming mass consumers. Traditionally, those who bought goods from the businesses who employed the workers did so because they could afford to. These same workers however, lacked the one thing which prevented them from becoming consumers - money. Habit, too, prevented some people from entering the consumer marketplace. When one was brought up to work hard and save your money it becomes very difficult to break with such a tradition.

It was within this context that advertising began to assume modern proportions (Ewen 1976,p. 18). Its main thrust was to superimpose new conceptions of individual attainment and commodity desire upon the minds of those who were still somewhat reluctant to enter into consumerism.

Businessmen could no longer depend upon an elite market to respond to their productive capacity. The manufacturer was forced to count on the entire country if he was going to be able to reduce his production cost and thus compete with other manufacturers (Ewen 1976.p. 18). The question of creating a national market then became one of changing the buying habits of the Euro-Canadian and American public.

It is at this point in time that advertising became a necessity. Businessmen were giving their employees shorter hours and higher wages , in return for which they were expected (at least by the business world) to buy. Advertising executives were given the responsibility of creating an emotional desire to buy in every citizen. "To create consumer efficiently the advertising industry had to develop universal notions of what makes people respond, going beyond the 'horse sense' psychology that had characterized the earlier industry" (Ewen 1976. p. 33).

The ad men had to appeal to human instincts to make people aware of themselves and also how others are aware of them. Goods being advertised no longer promise just practicality, value or years of service. They now offered social prestige, beauty, respect, leisure, youth, naturalness and excitement.

Advertising desired not to keep people happy with their material lives, but rather to keep them dissatisfied with "...ugly things around them. Satisfied customers are not as profitable as discontented ones" (Ewen 1976 p.39). Advertising was also designed to produce a "homogeneous national character" (Ewen 1976. p. 41). It gave people an ideal which they could strive towards. In striving towards the ideal, in this case Euro-Canadian society, people felt that they too could have "floors clean enough for a baby", "that natural look","Hands that look like you never do dishes","Whiter teeth and fresher breath" and a host of other personal improvements that can only be attained through participating in the consumer market.

Advertising portrays the consumer market as an integrated and totalistic world view (Ewen 1976. p. 103). Home no longer becomes the focal point for a family's world. Although the home is needed ..."for the social relations that... it...maintains, yet at the same time, people must look outward for the wage that will allow them to maintain the home in a desireable style..." (Ewen 1976, p.122).

Advertising, today, occurs in many forms: radio, newspapers , magazines and television. Television is perhaps the most effective means of advertising as the ads are placed during and between programmes so that one is obliged to sit through them or run the risk of missing a portion of a programme. Advertising, in the form of actual ads and even the programmes themselves clue people in as to what is available in the world. It allows you to compare yourself, your family, and your home to the idcal as portrayed on television. It projects an image of abundance and easy accessability of goods (Ewen 1976.p.209).

..."The cultural displacement effected by consumerism has provided a mode of perception that has both confronted the question of human need and at the same time restricted its possibilities ..."(Ewen 1976. p. 220).

Returning now to the study communities of Cree 1 and Cree 2 one can easily see that neither community has experienced the same type of social development as Euro-Canada. Both communities were officially introduced to television in the 1970's. By the time television reached these communities, advertising (formal and informal, i.e. programmes which portray the ways Euro-Canadians live) was in full swing. Ads are now telling us how to remain youthful and natural, how to get ahead, and how our lives would not be complete without certain products. We are all encouraged to strive towards two cars in the driveway, a colour television, pulsating shower massages and wall to wall carpeting.

However, Cree 1 and Cree 2 are not like the rest of Euro-Canada. Cree 2 people have electricity (30 amp. service) but no indoor plumbing. Many people have a vehicle but they have only four and one half miles of road on which to drive them and those who desire them often do not have the funds which make such a dream reality.

In examining the sales trends for the two stores at Cree 1 and the store at Cree 2 one can see that the number of sales at Cree 1 generally do not vary too much from store to store. It is the author's opinion that because Cree 1 received television earlier in the decade than Cree 2 that the people in the community have had time to adjust to the new barage of information being thrust upon them. Being less isolated than Cree 2, having a larger Euro-Canadian population and also input from other media such as radios and newspapers would also contribute to the consistancy in sales trends in Cree 1.

Cree 2, on the other hand, because it received television in mid 1977 has not had a long time to adapt to the pressures and influences it receives from Euro-Canada via the medium of television. When asked about the effect of television on people in their communities, the managers of the Bay stores all replied that they thought that television was having a definite effect. People were requesting more up to date fashions, name brand products, and showing a preference for rock and roll music as opposed to country and western.

In relation to the sales trends at the two stores at Cree 1, Cree 2 exhibits much more dramatic increases and decreases in the number of sales from one year to the next. Take for example, televisions. In 1977 the store at Cree 2 sold 157 television sets while in 1978 only 33 sets were sold. This can easily be explained by the fact that television was introduced to Cree 2 in mid 1977. One would anticipate a high sales record. The following year the number of those people who had not purchased one or who were buying a second set would naturally be not as great and hence the difference in sales from one year to the next. Sales of televisions,radios, and most other electrical appliances would be low to moderate in Cree 1 because they have had electricity for a longer period of time and hence would have purchased these appliances sooner.

Radios, even at Cree 2 appear to be on the decline. The exception is an increase at Cree 1 Store A for 1979. Sales on record players, tape decks and tape recorders seem to be low to moderate for all three communities. Stores A and B are quite comparable with respect to sales on electrical appliances, with the exception of hair dyers at Store A which peaks at 37 in 1978 and then falls by almost 50 % to only 18 sales for 1979. At Cree 2 there is a noticeable drop in the sales of sewing machines. This could indicate a trend away from 'home made' garments to ones purchased at the local Bay store or on shopping trips to Thompson or Winnipeg.

Regarding reading material, the most noticeable changes are in superhero comic books which at two of the three study stores plummet by 67.5 % (Cree 2) ans 78.3 % (Store B). Both of these stores are located on reserves. A possible explanation for this decrease is that the superhero figures found in the comic books are now being seen on television (eg. Spiderman, Buck Rogers).

Magazine sales at Store B in Cree 1 also seem to have taken a downward trend-sales having decreased for 1978-1979 by 78.57 %.

Sales of toiletry articles at Cree 1 are comparable although the volume in sales is higher at Store A.This is most likely because it is the larger store and probably has a greater stock turnover. A noticeable increase in the sale of soaps is noticed at Store A.

Cree 2 has exhibited a high increase in the sale of toiletry articles. Sales of deoderants and aftershaves are first recorded in 1979.

Amongst beauty aids being sold, handcreams and makeup appear to be the most erratic. Perfume sales are recorded for the first time at Cree 2. During the past year, stories have been circulated around Cree 2 about the increased use of perfumes in the community but by the men and not the women. It seems, as an article in Macleans Magazine also states, that a variety of perfumes, particularly Chanel No. 5 are being used in wolf and lynx traps. Apparently the perfume attracts the animals and has the added advantage that it does not freeze the traps.

Among Patent medicines, cough drops in particular appear to have increased in sale at all three stores.

Under household products, Store B sales of dish soap have decreased by 80%. On the other hand, sales at Cree 2 have increased by 983.3 % from 240 bottles in 1978 to 2600 bottles in 1979.

Sales of pantyhose show fluctuation but generally speaking sales have increased.

Tea and coffee sales are comparable between Store A and B but at Cree 2 sales of tea dropped by 78 %for 1979. Coffee at Cree 2, on the other hand, rose by 114 %.

Children's cereals enjoyed an increase at all three stores with the most dramatic increase taking place at Cree 2 (83 %).

Frozen foods are generally on the decline in spite of the fact that these items are quite popular in most northern communities.

Cake mixes rose in sales at Cree 2 by 1650 %. There was a moderate increase at Store B and a decline at Store A.

Little information was available on dairy products such as milk and eggs. Sufficient information was provided, however, to observe increased sales of fresh milk and a slight decrease in the sale of eggs. Cost is probably a factor prohibiting the purchase of these items.

Sales of snack foods such as popcorn and potato chips exhibit a general increase with the exception of Store A where potato chips decreased in sales by 40 %.

For the last of these categories, soft drinks, games and children's toys, insufficient data was available.

By way of conclusion, one can see that the general trend in both Native study communities is towards an increase in sales in the stores. One cannot state for certain as to whether or not these increased sales are a direct result of television. It is the opinion of the author that the media in general, that is radio,newspapers and television in collaboration with the rapid breakdown of cultural and geographical isolation which the people of Cree 1 and Cree 2 have experienced in the last decade has caused an increased need or desire for these people to strive to become like the rest of Euro-Canada. Given the social, geographical and economic situations which these people find themselves in, it can only be assumed that the people of Cree 1 and 2 are trying to emulate the rest of Euro-Canadian society through the purchase of material goods as is reflected in the sales trends at the Bay stores in their communities. If this need to emulate Euro-Canada came about as the result of watching television and listening to the radio, then for all intents and purposes, the media is indeed having an effect upon consumer buying trends in the two northern Native communities of Cree 1 and Cree 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carlyle-Gordge, P. 1979 "Dollars and scents along the trapline" in *Macleans* Magazine. Jan 8, 1979. p. 17.

Ewen, S. 1976 *Captains of Consciousness*, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill

Hamer, J., Steinbring, J. *et al*. 1974 *Preliminary Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North:A Comparative Study*. Winnipeg:University of Winnipeg.

Hamer, J.,Steinbring,J. *et al.* 1975 *Second Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North*. Winnipeg:University of Winnipeg.

Granzberg, G. 1979 "The Introduction of Television into a Northern Manitoba Cree Community:Some Reflections upon its Meaning, its Uses and its Effects" in *The Impact and Meaning of Television.*, Steinbring and Granzberg et al. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg.

Granzberg, G. 1980 Personal Communication.

Hanks, Christopher. 1980 "Television and the Impact of the Euro-Canadian Economy and Technology upon Cree Enculturation" in "Television and the Canadian Indian: Impact and Meaning among Algonkians of Central Canada".

Hanks, Christopher, 1980 Personal Communication.

Pereira, Cecil. 1980 Personal Communication.

Steinbring, J.,Granzberg, G. et al. Impact and Meaning of Television Among
1979 Native Communities in Northern Manitoba. Winnipeg:
University of Winnipeg.

Rich,E.E. The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1887.
1967 Toronto:McClelland and Stewart, Ltd.

APPENDIX 1

GENERAL

KEY

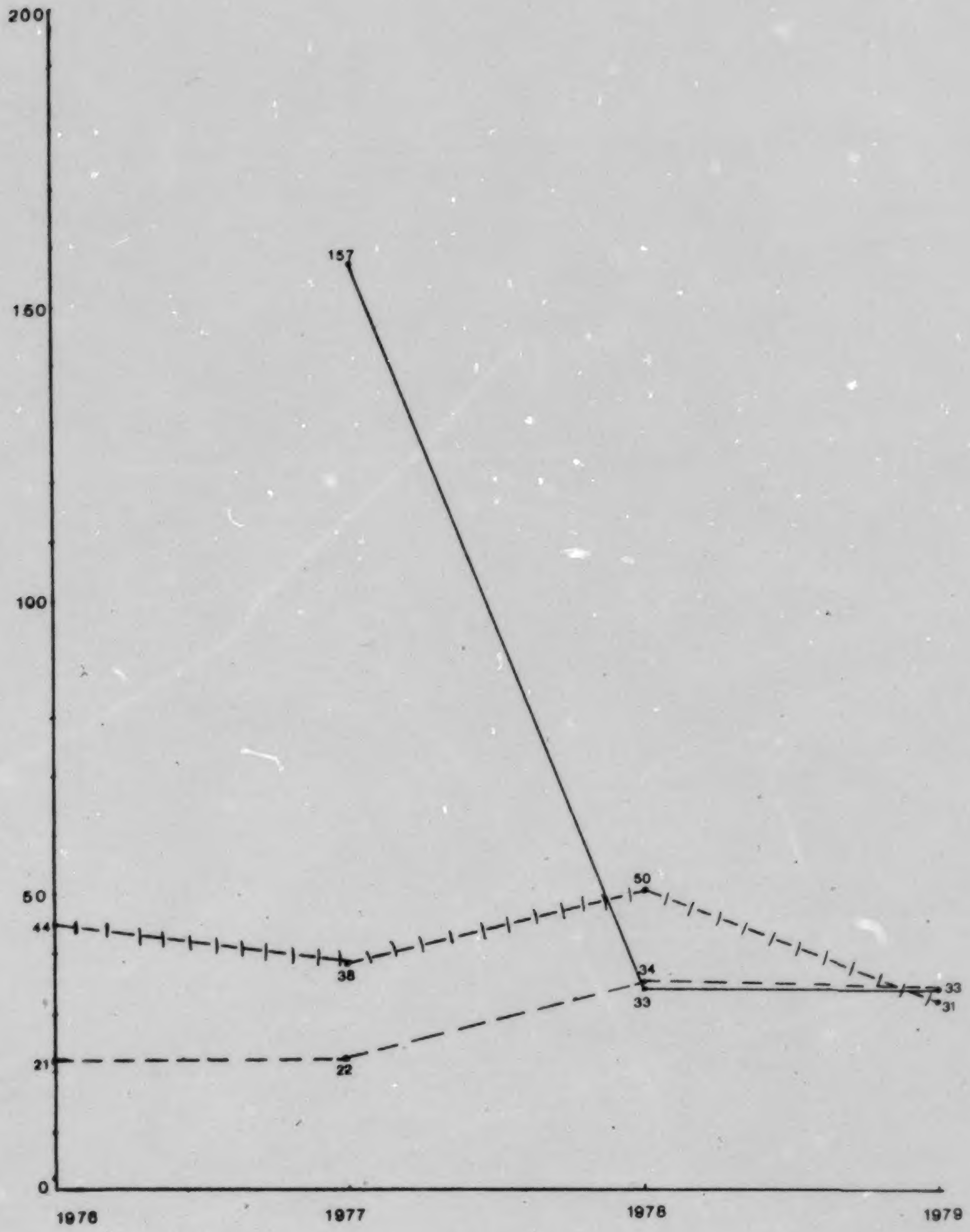
The sales trends illustrated in the following charts are with reference to the following communities in Northern Manitoba:

Cree 1 = Store A : -I-I-I-I-I-I-I-I-I-I-

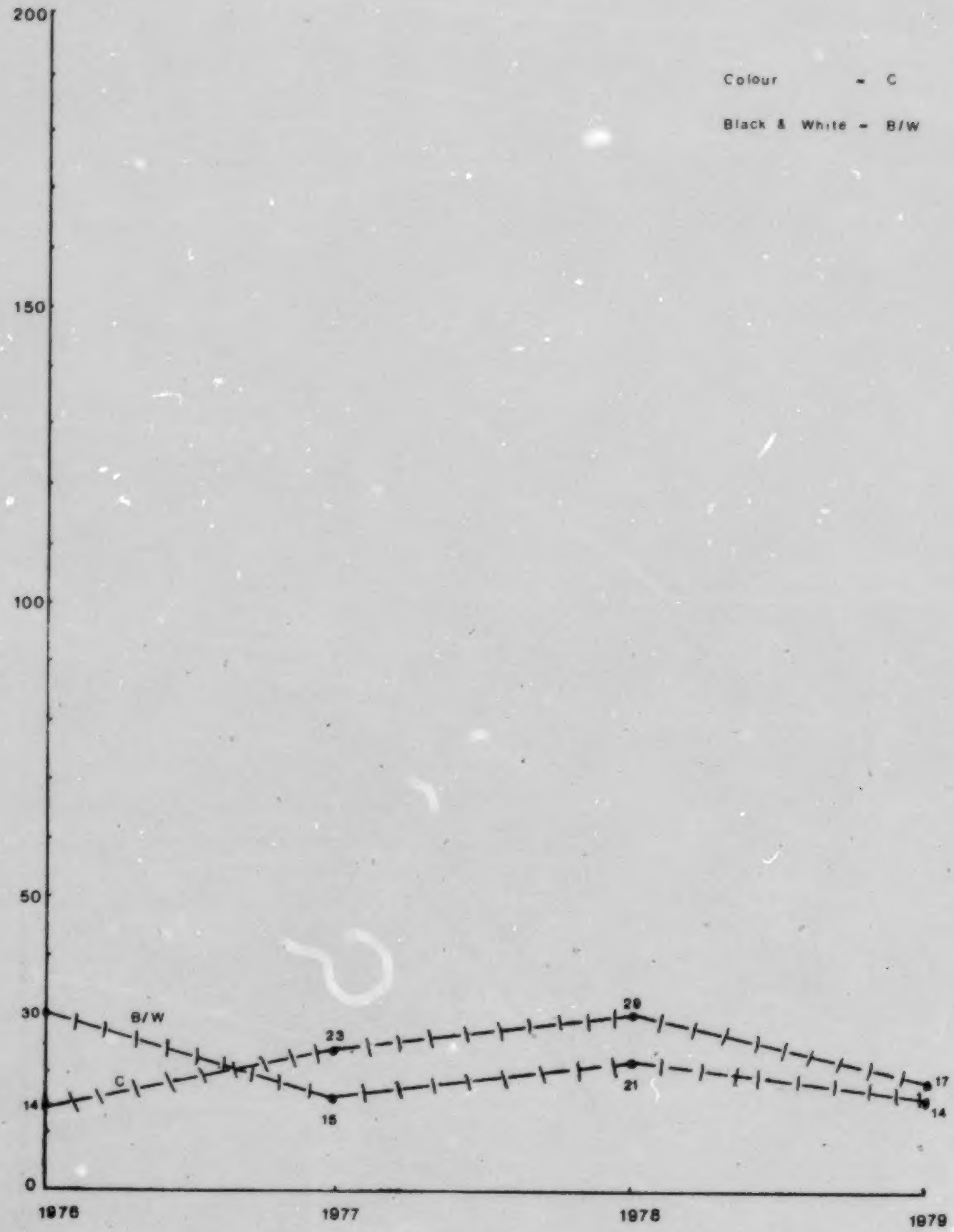
= Store B : - - - - - - - - - -

Cree 2 : ————————

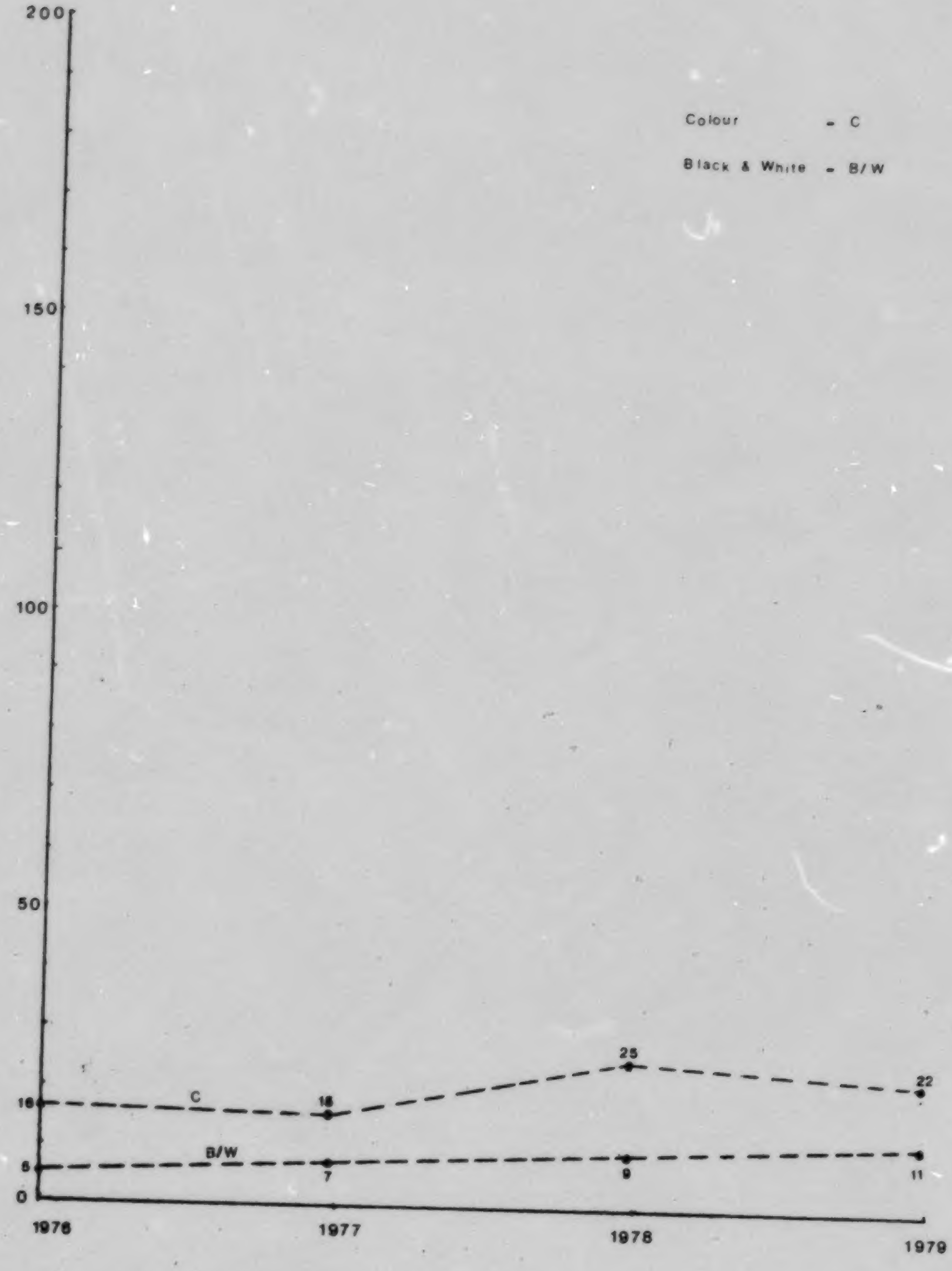
TELEVISIONS



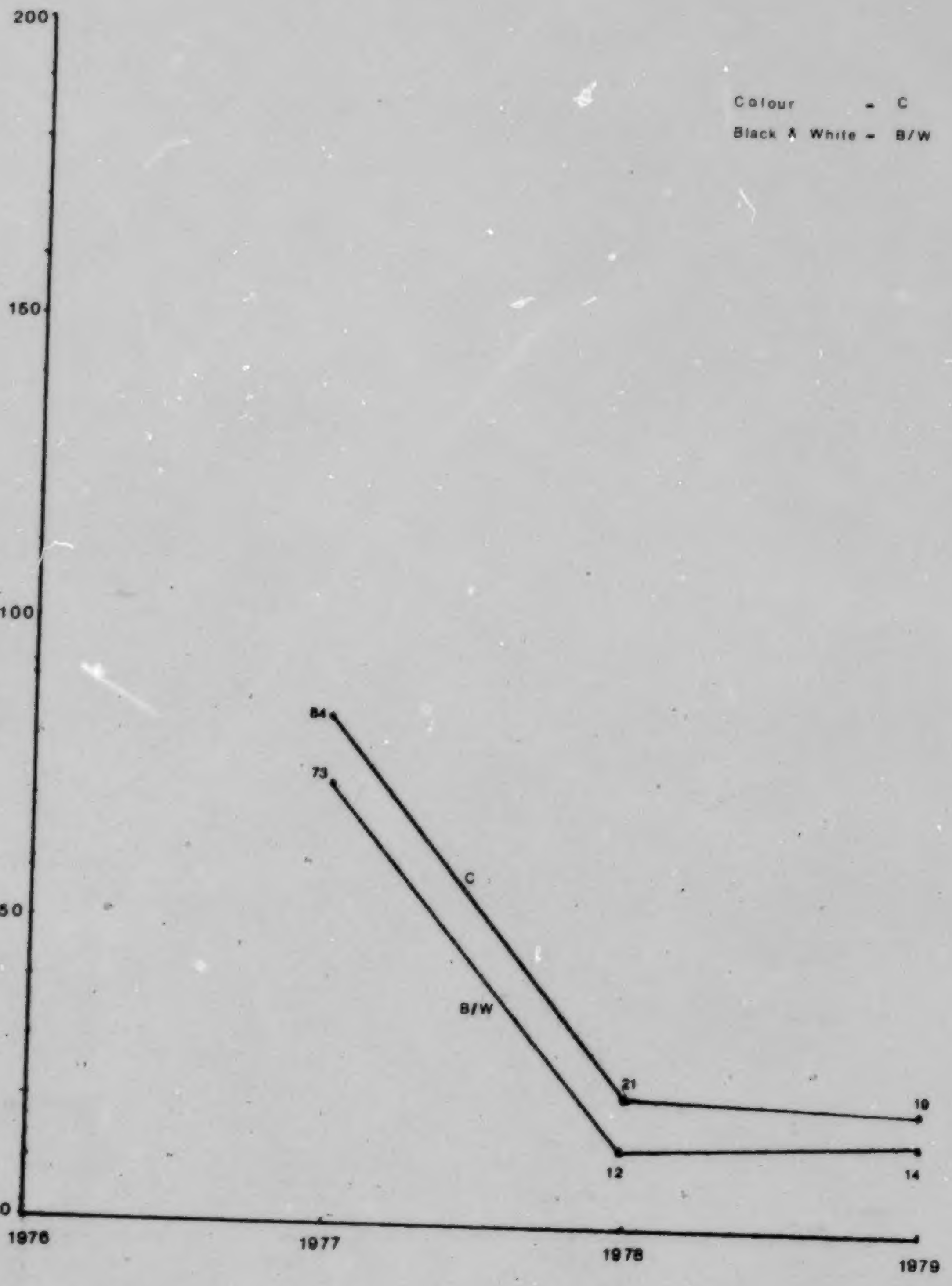
CREE 1 - STORE A - TELEVISIONS



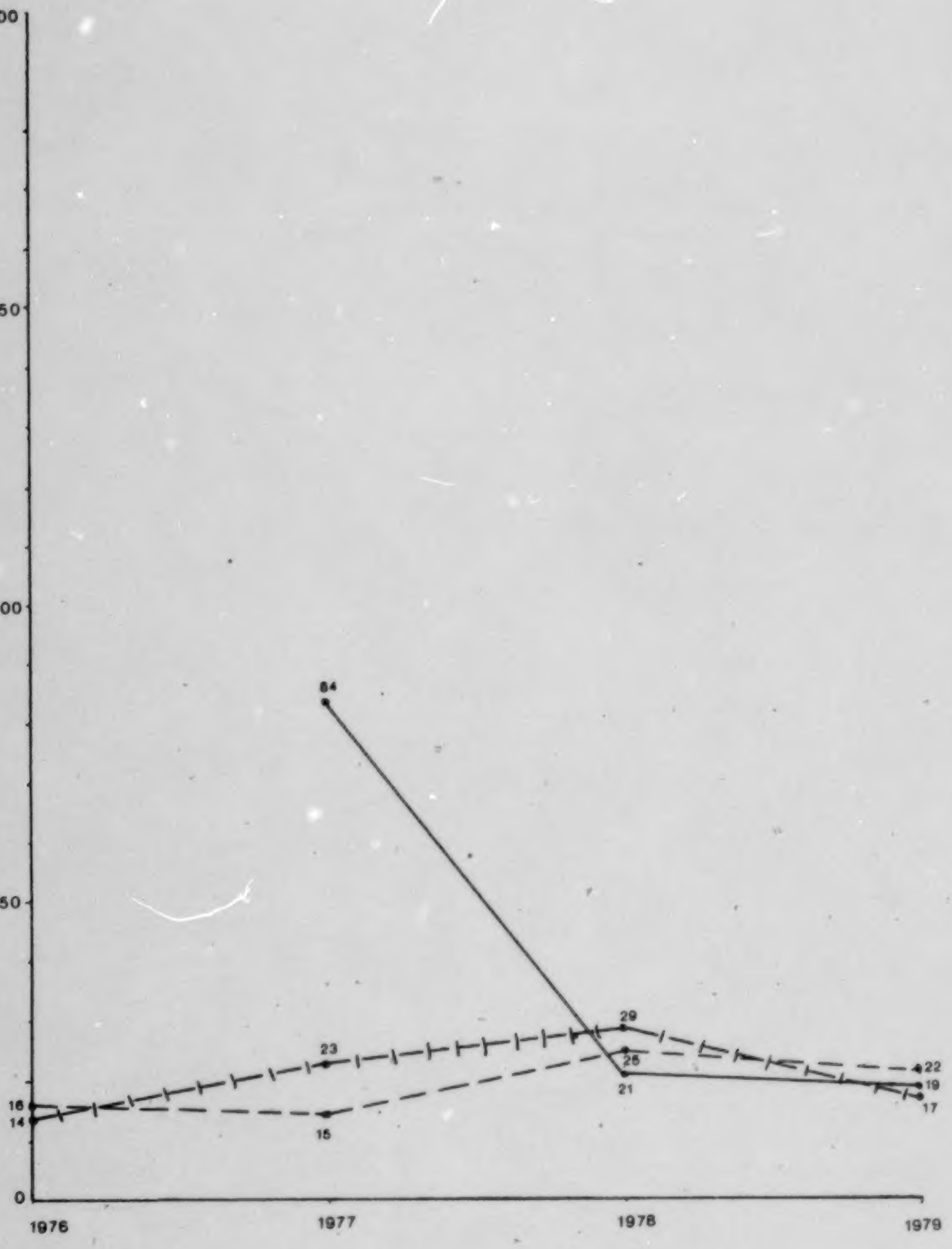
CREE 1- STORE B - TELEVISIONS



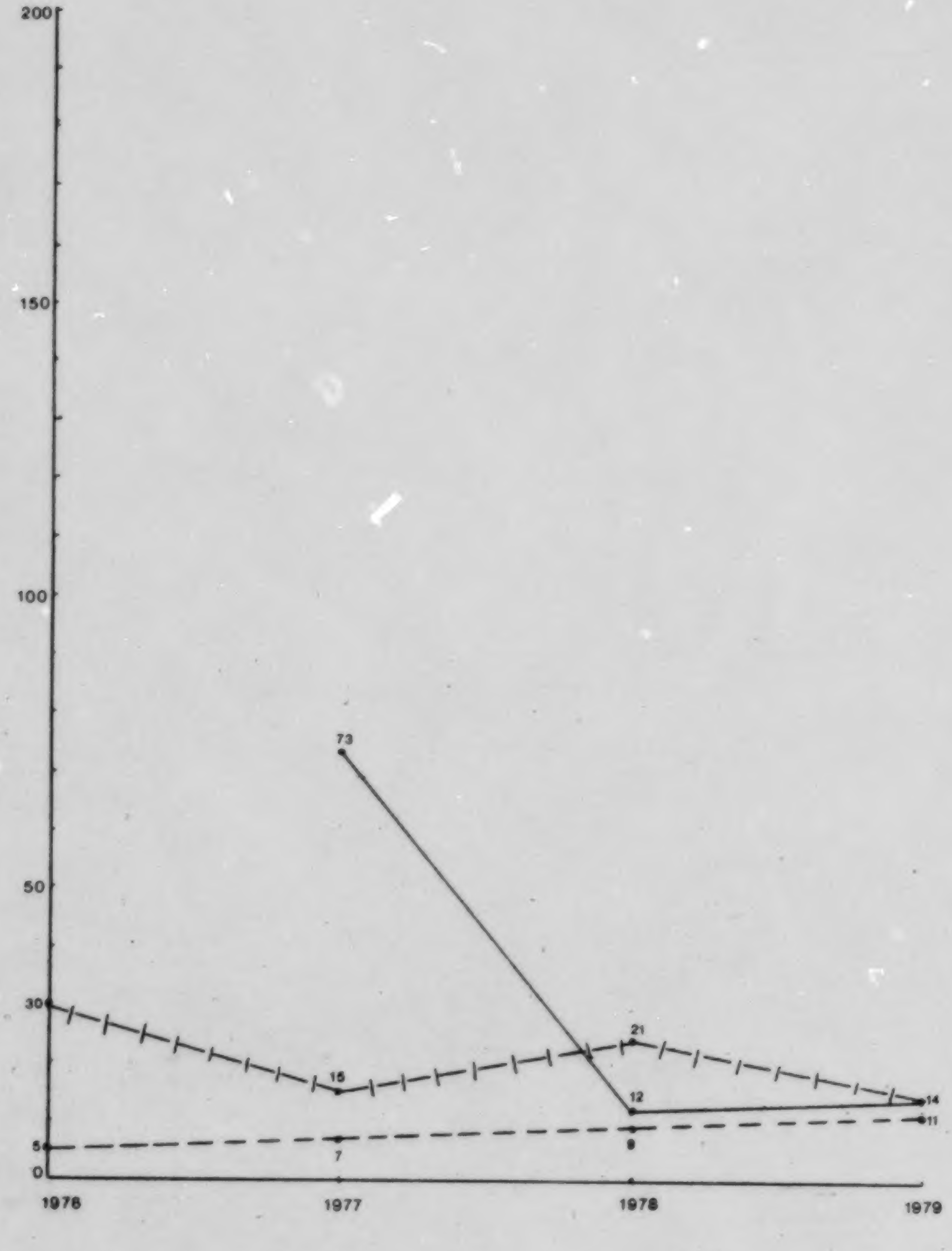
CREE 2 - TELEVISIONS



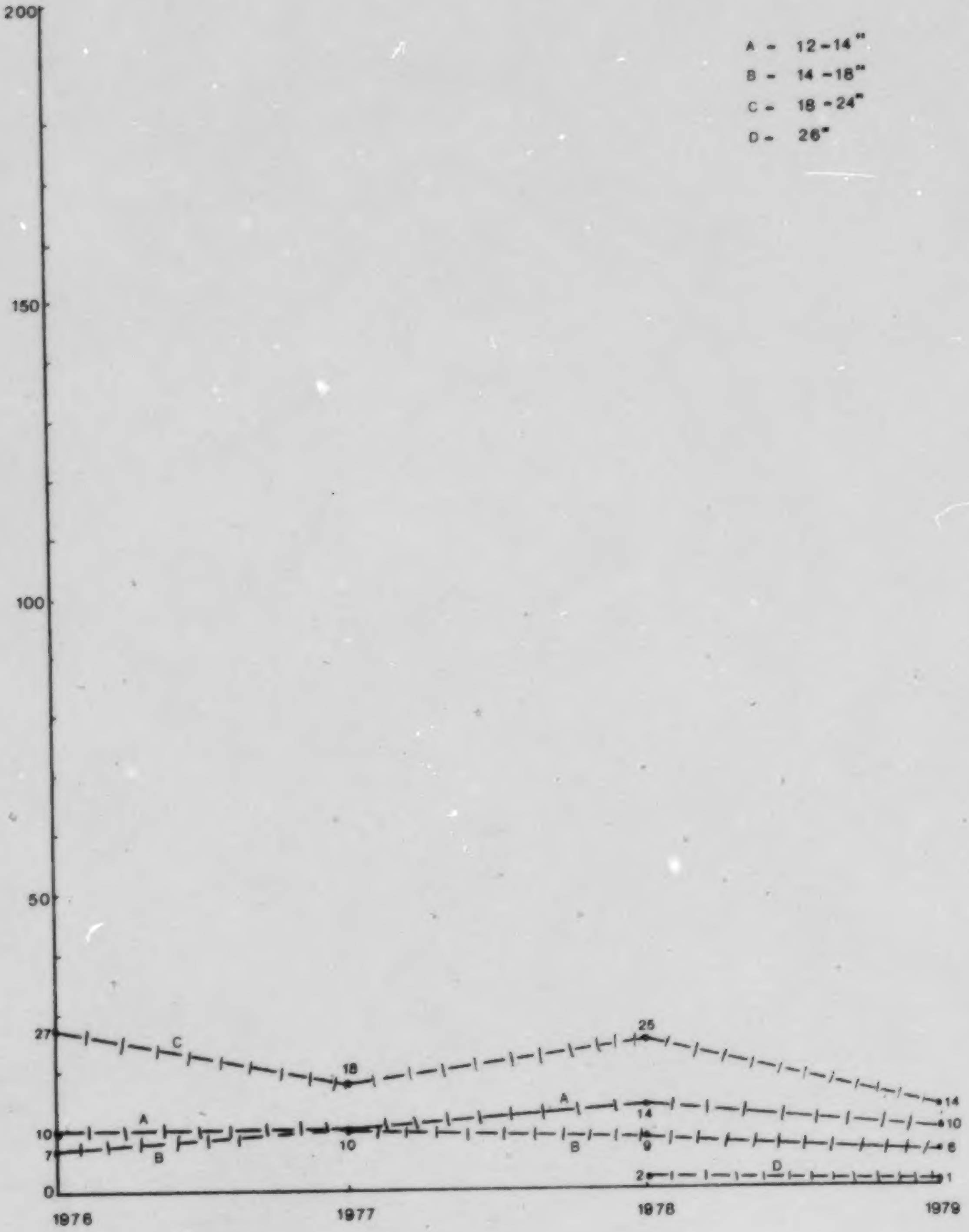
COLOUR TELEVISIONS



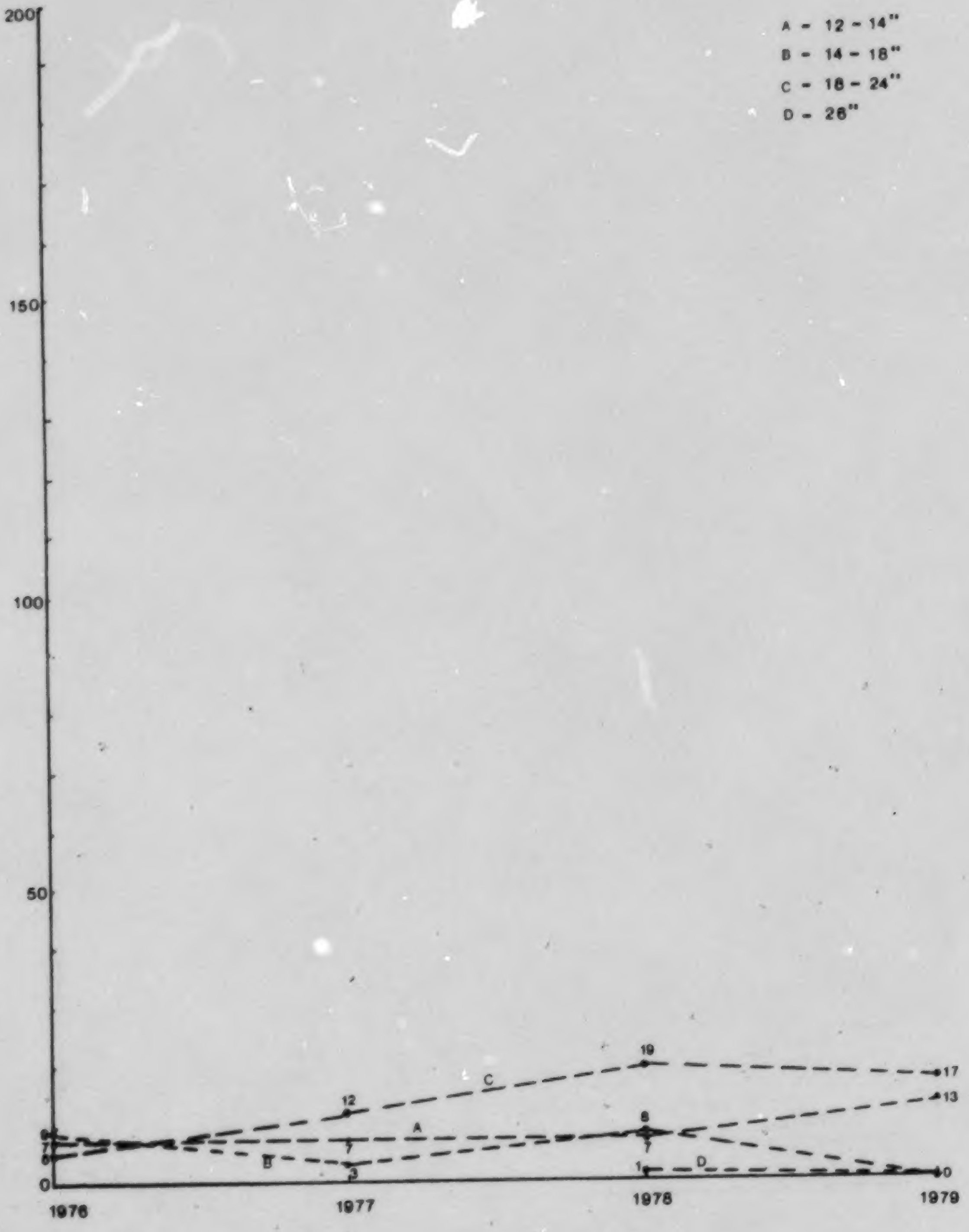
BLACK & WHITE TELEVISIONS



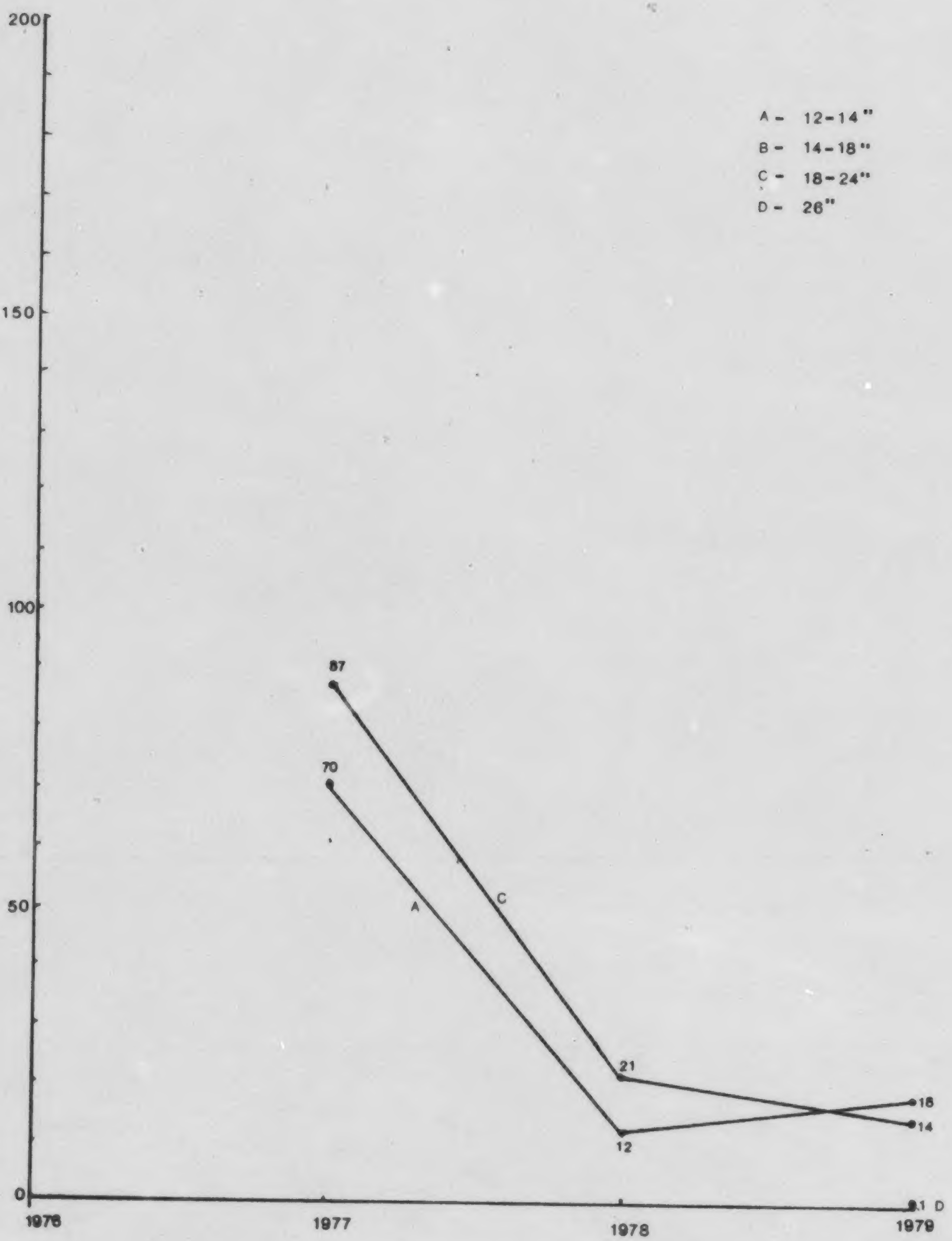
CREE 1 - STORE A -- TV SCREEN SIZE



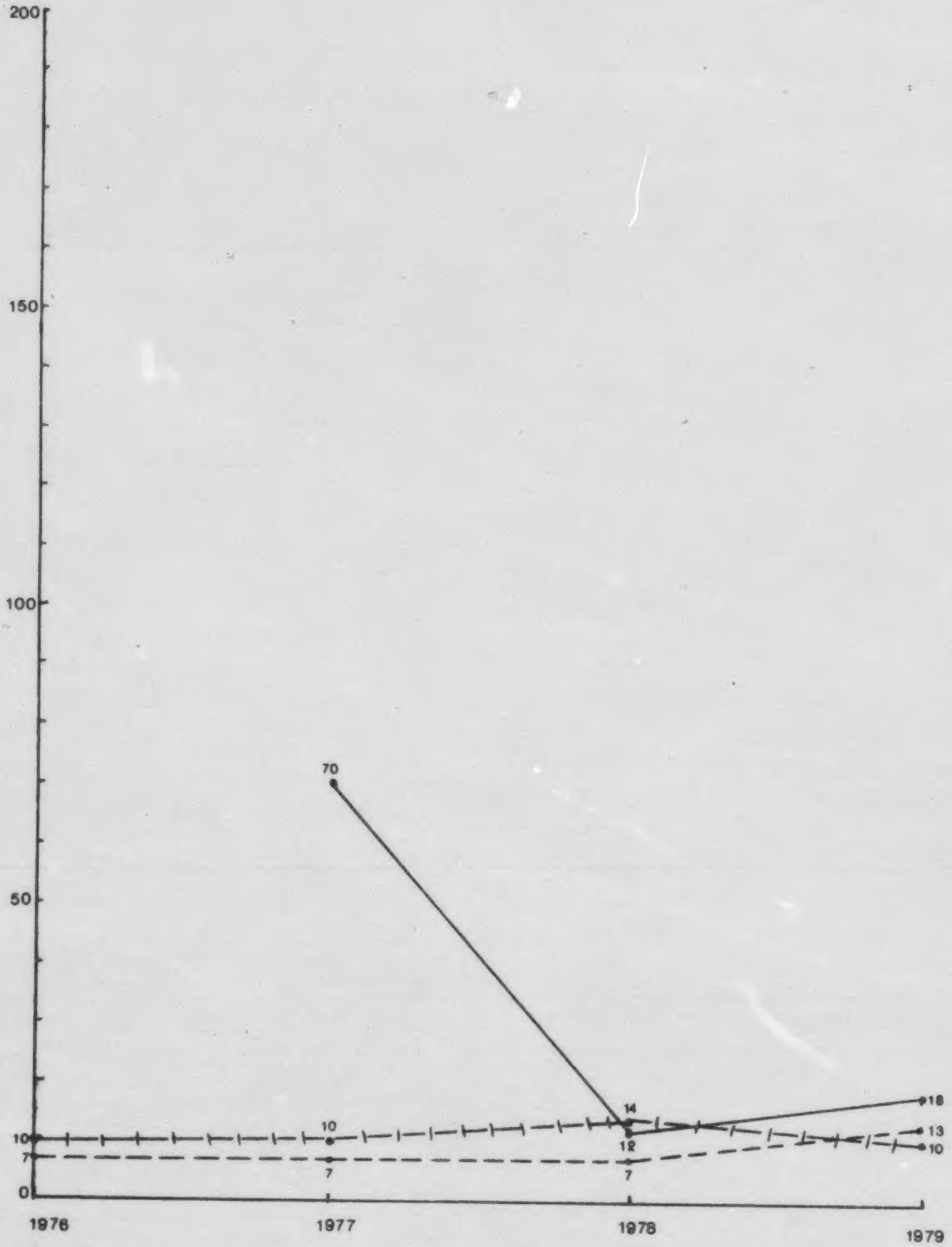
CREE 1- STORE B -- TV SCREEN SIZE



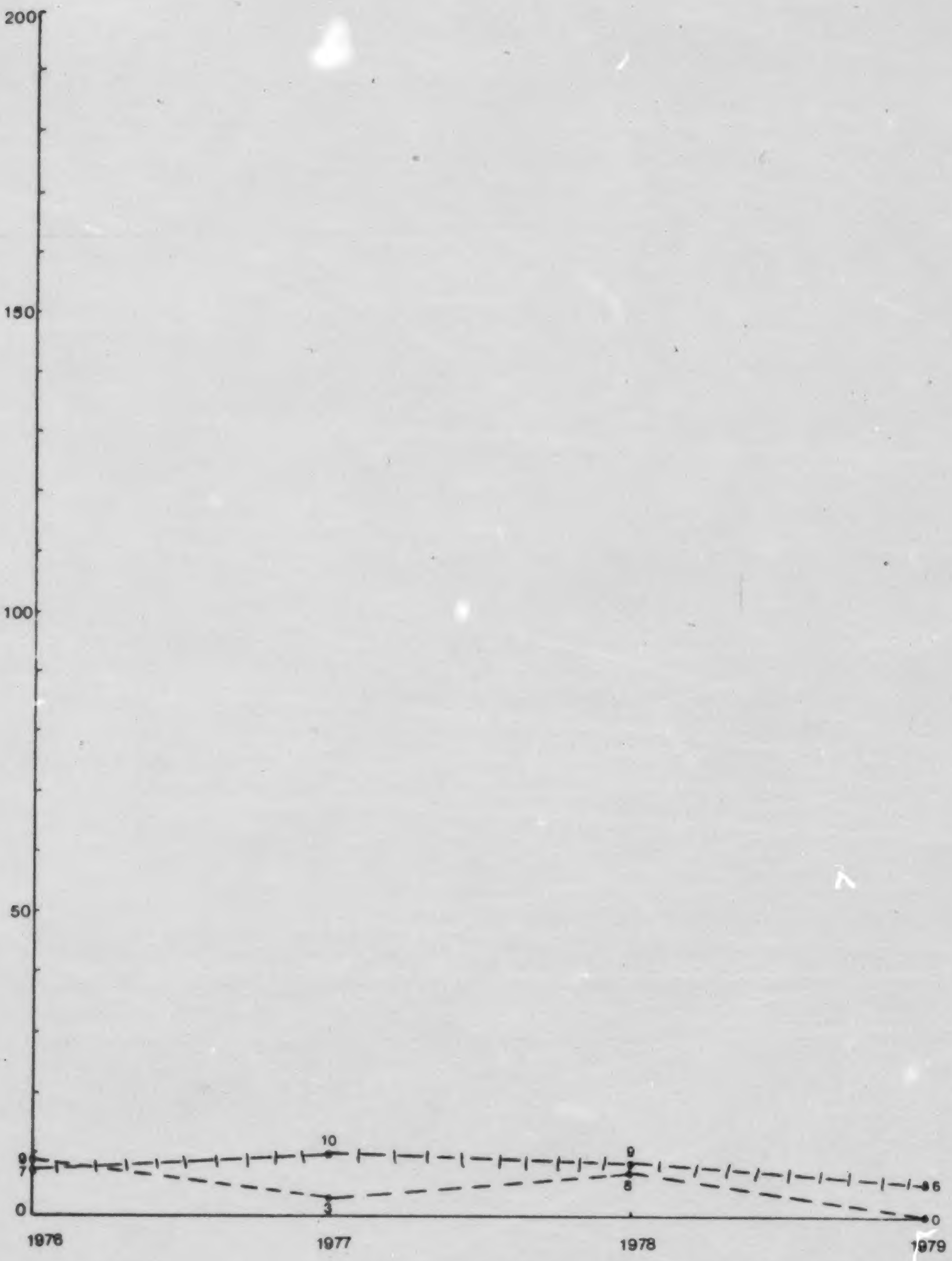
CREE 2 -- TV SCREEN SIZE



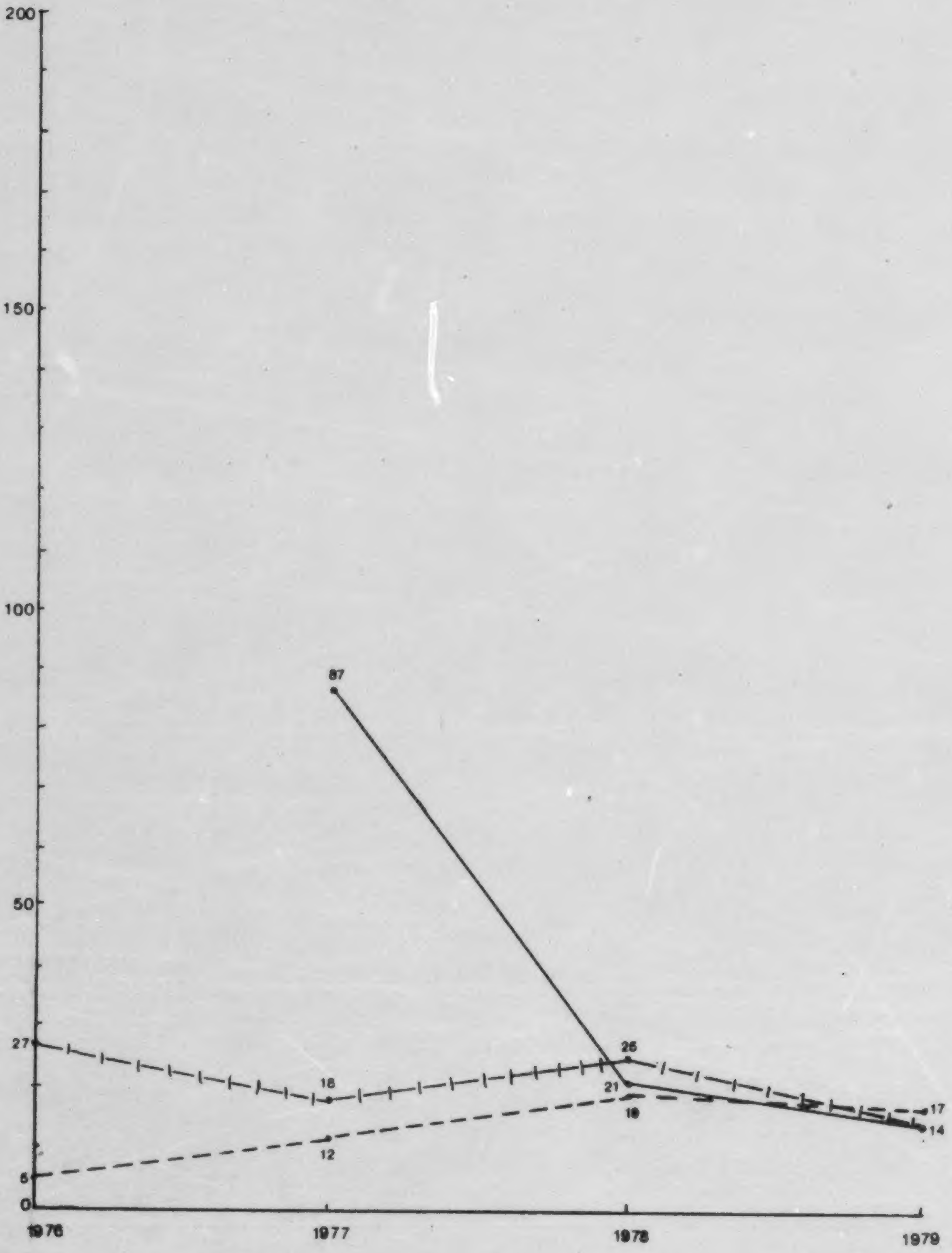
T.V. SCREENS - 12-14"



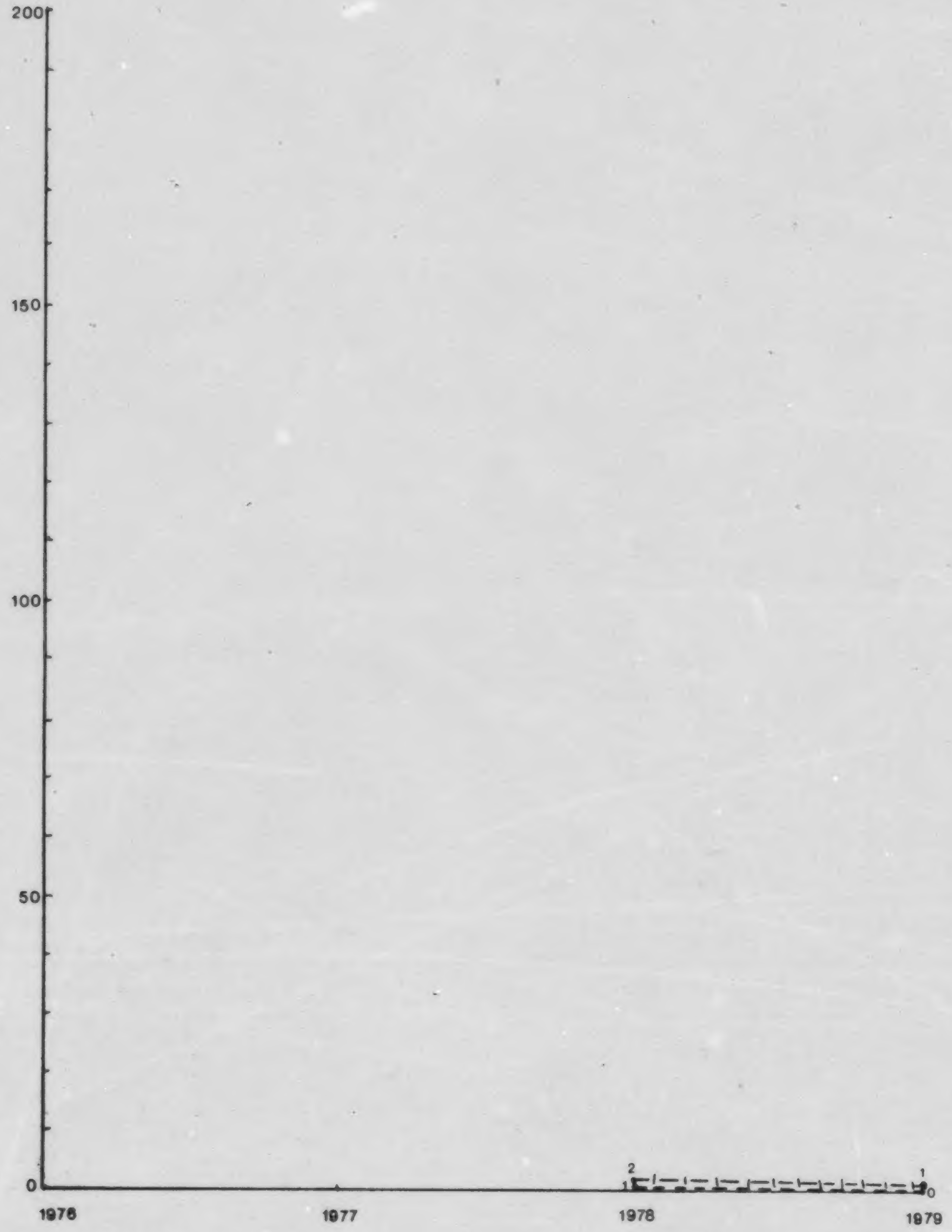
TV SCREENS - 14-18"



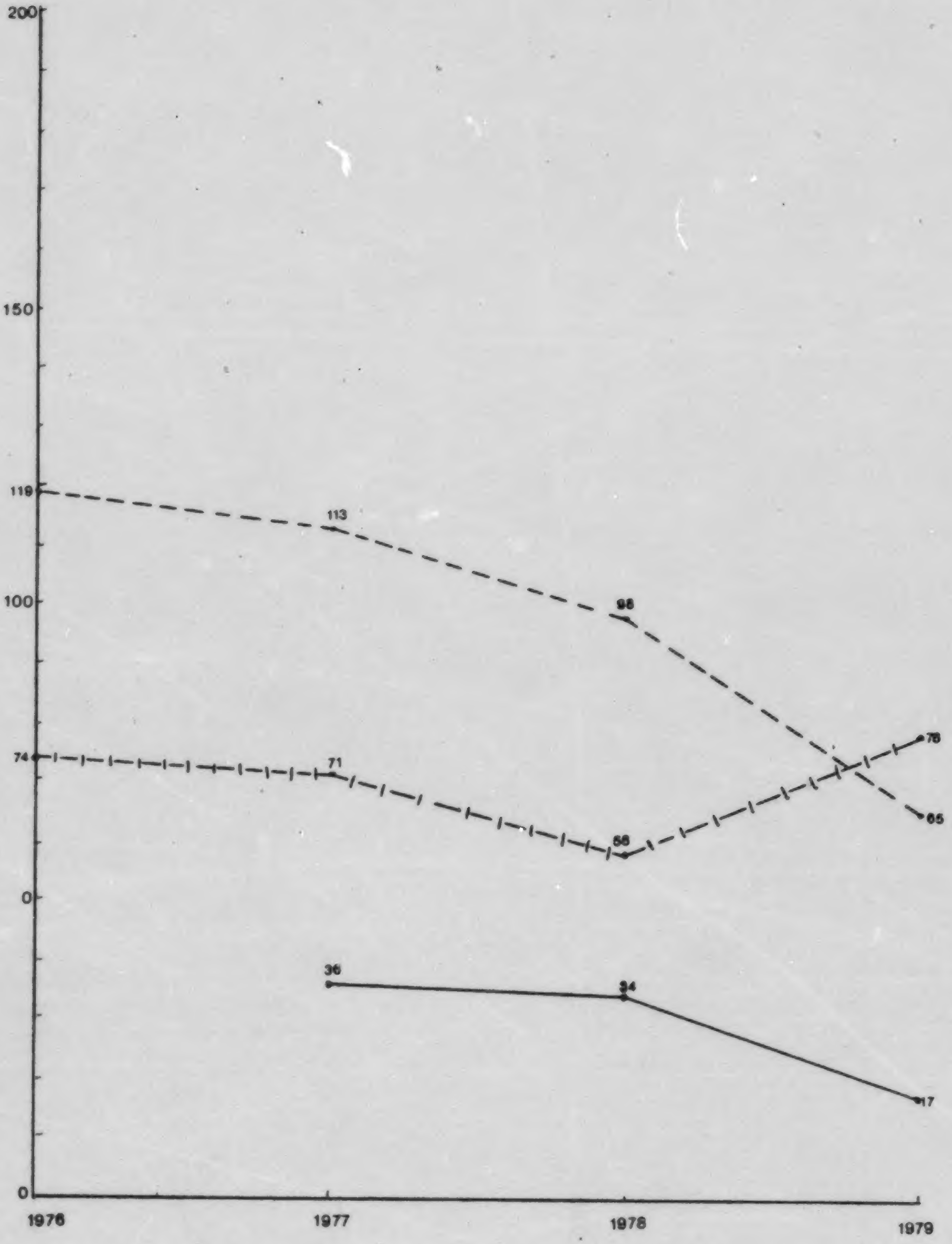
TV SCREENS - 18-24"



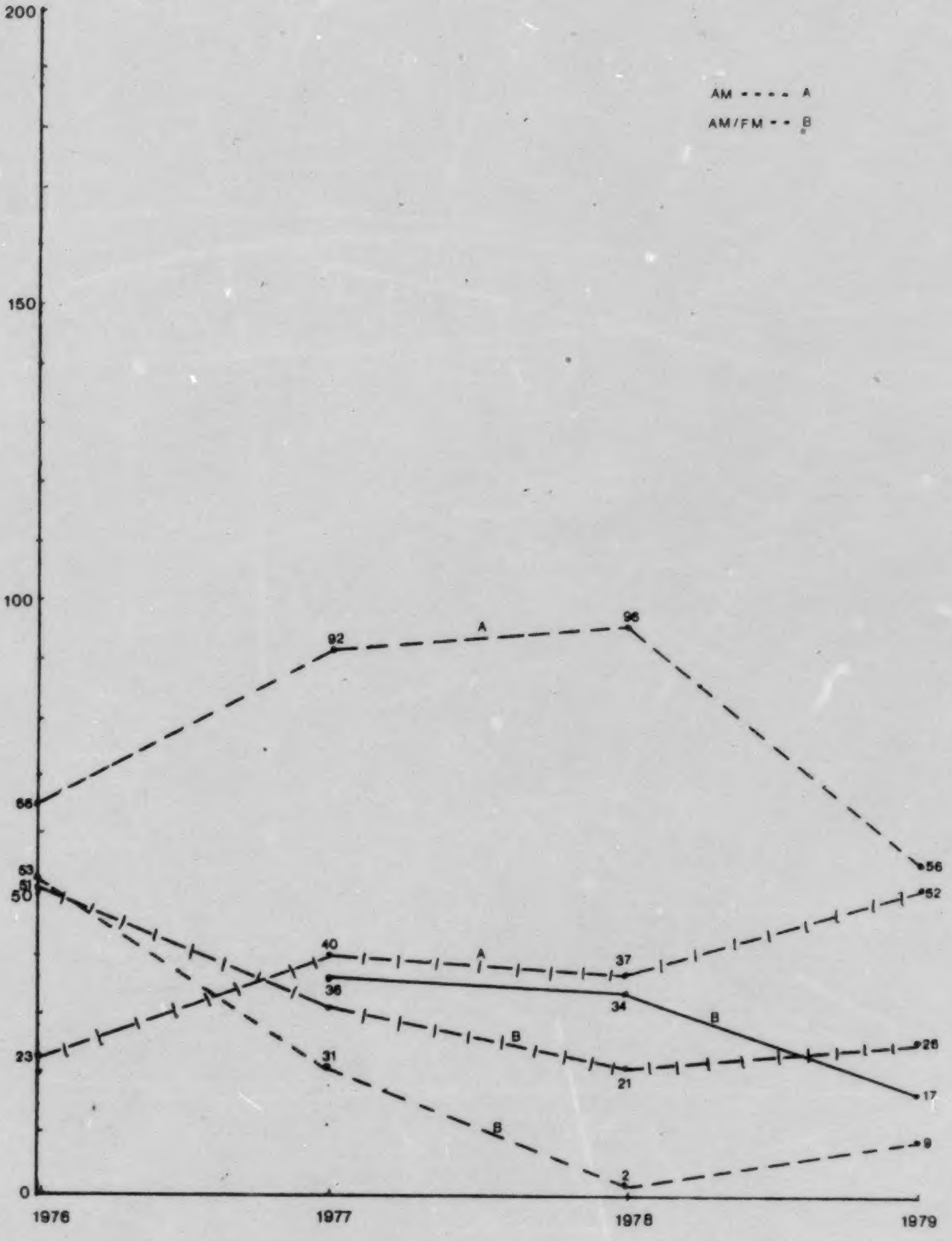
TV SCREENS - 26"



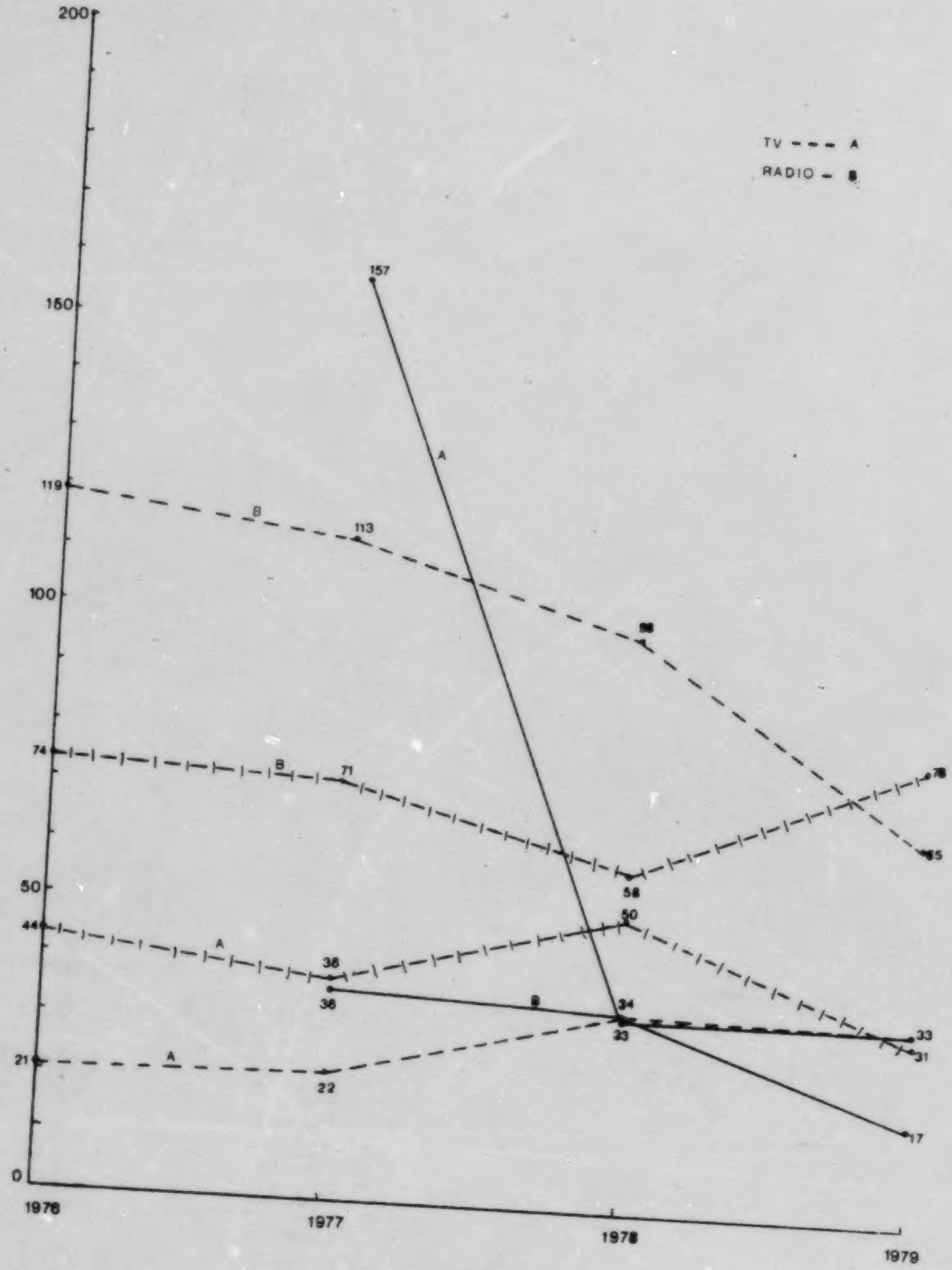
RADIOS


200
150
119
113
100
96
74
71
56
78
65
0
36
34
17
0
1976
1977
1978
1979

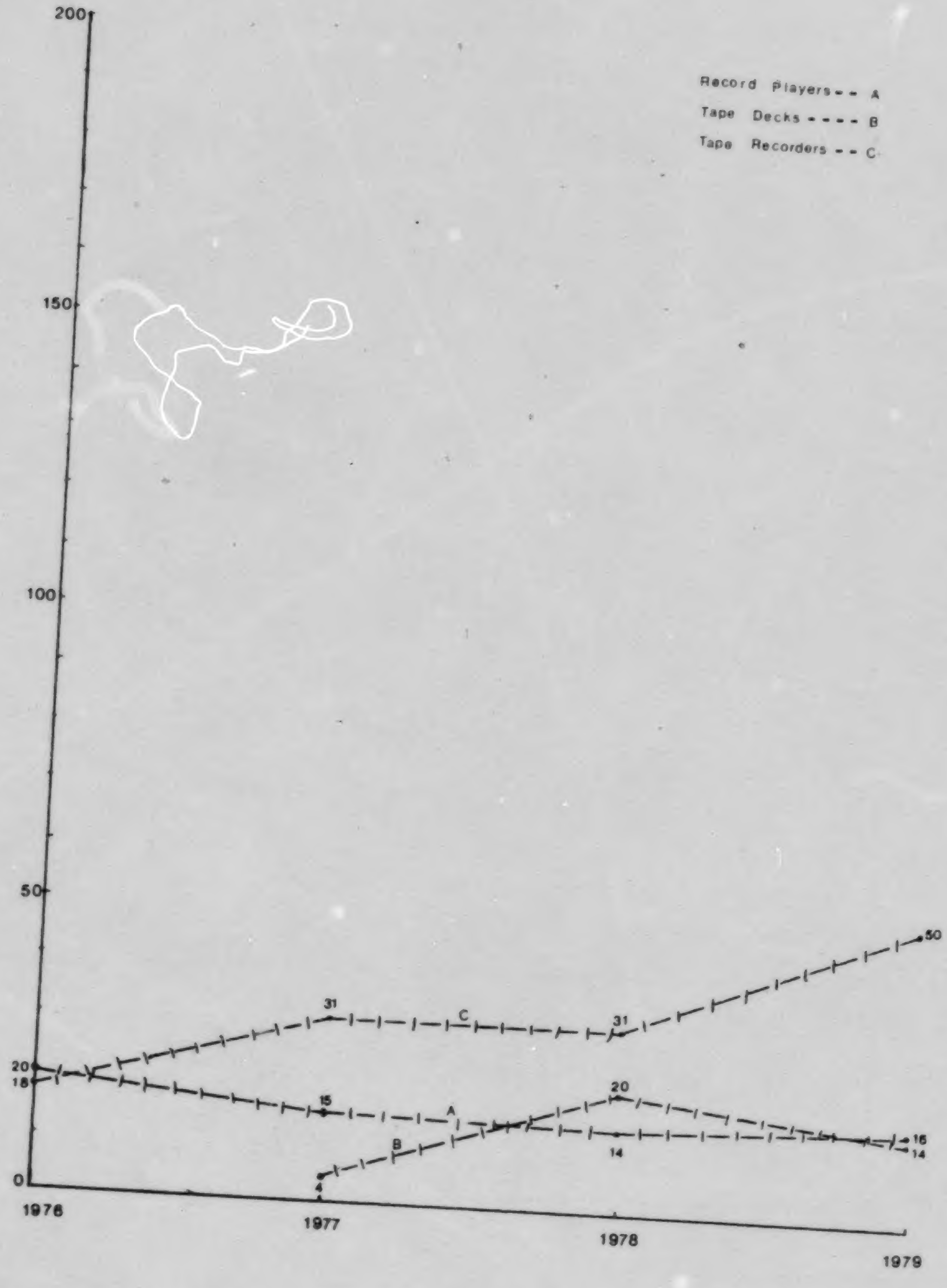
RADIOS


AM ---- A
AM/FM -- B
200
150
100
50
0
66
53
51
23
92
A
96
56
40
A
37
52
36
34
B
17
31
B
2
9
B
21
26
1976
1977
1978
1979

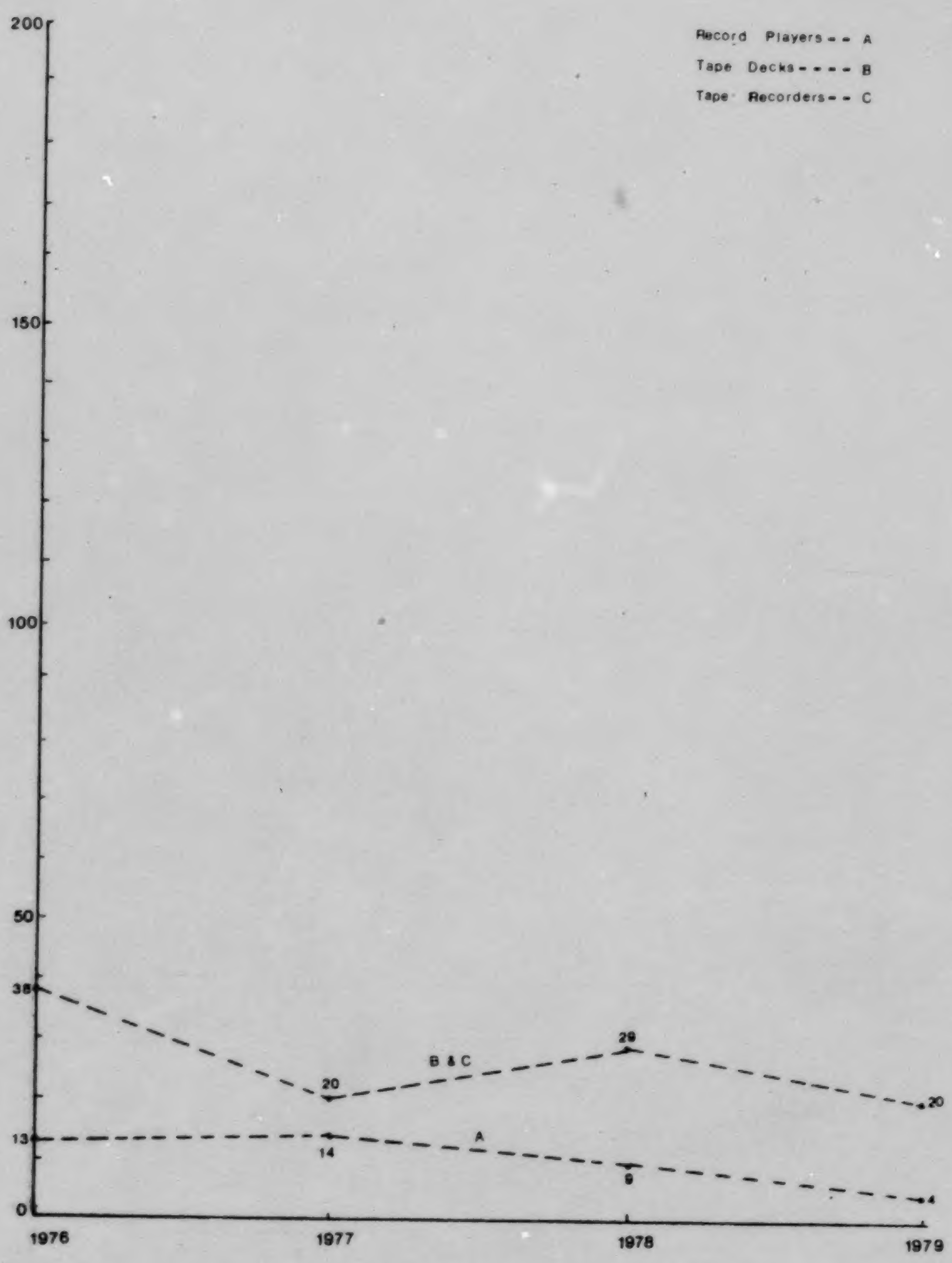
TV vs RADIO


TV - - - A
RADIO — B
200
150
100
50
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
157
A
119
B
113
98
74
B
71
58
78
55
44
A
38
50
38
B
34
33
33
31
21
A
22
17

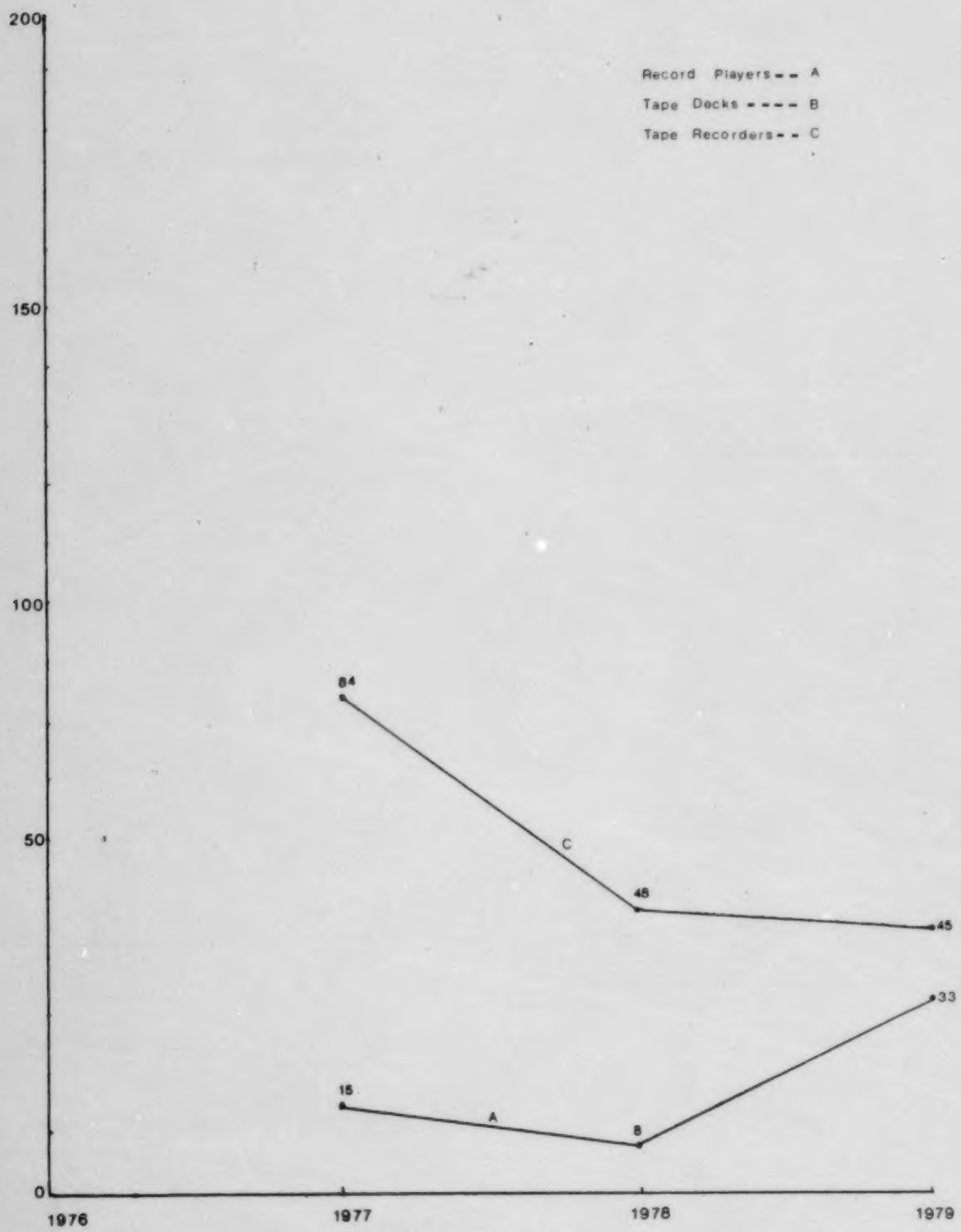
CREE 1 - STORE A



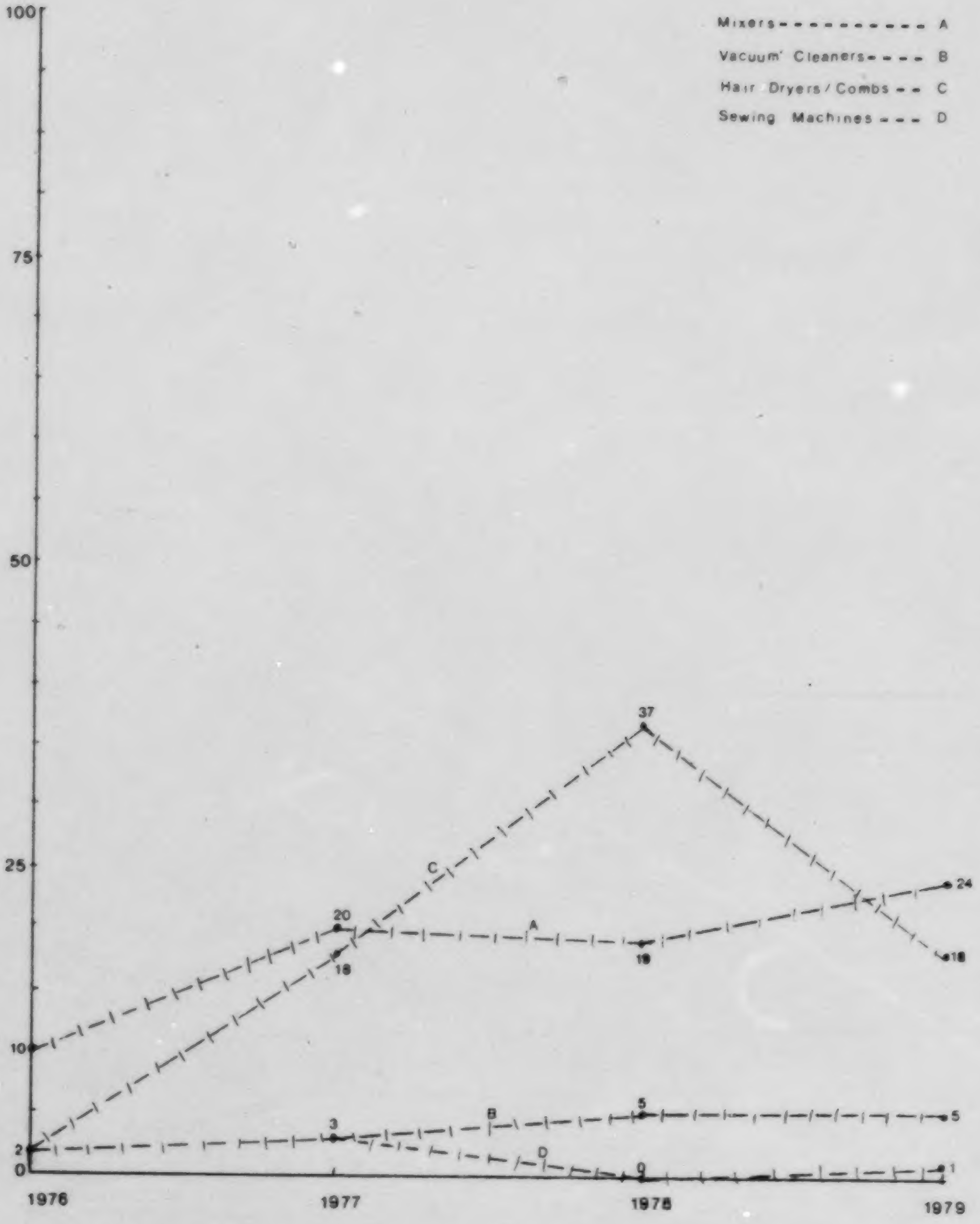
CREE 1- STORE B



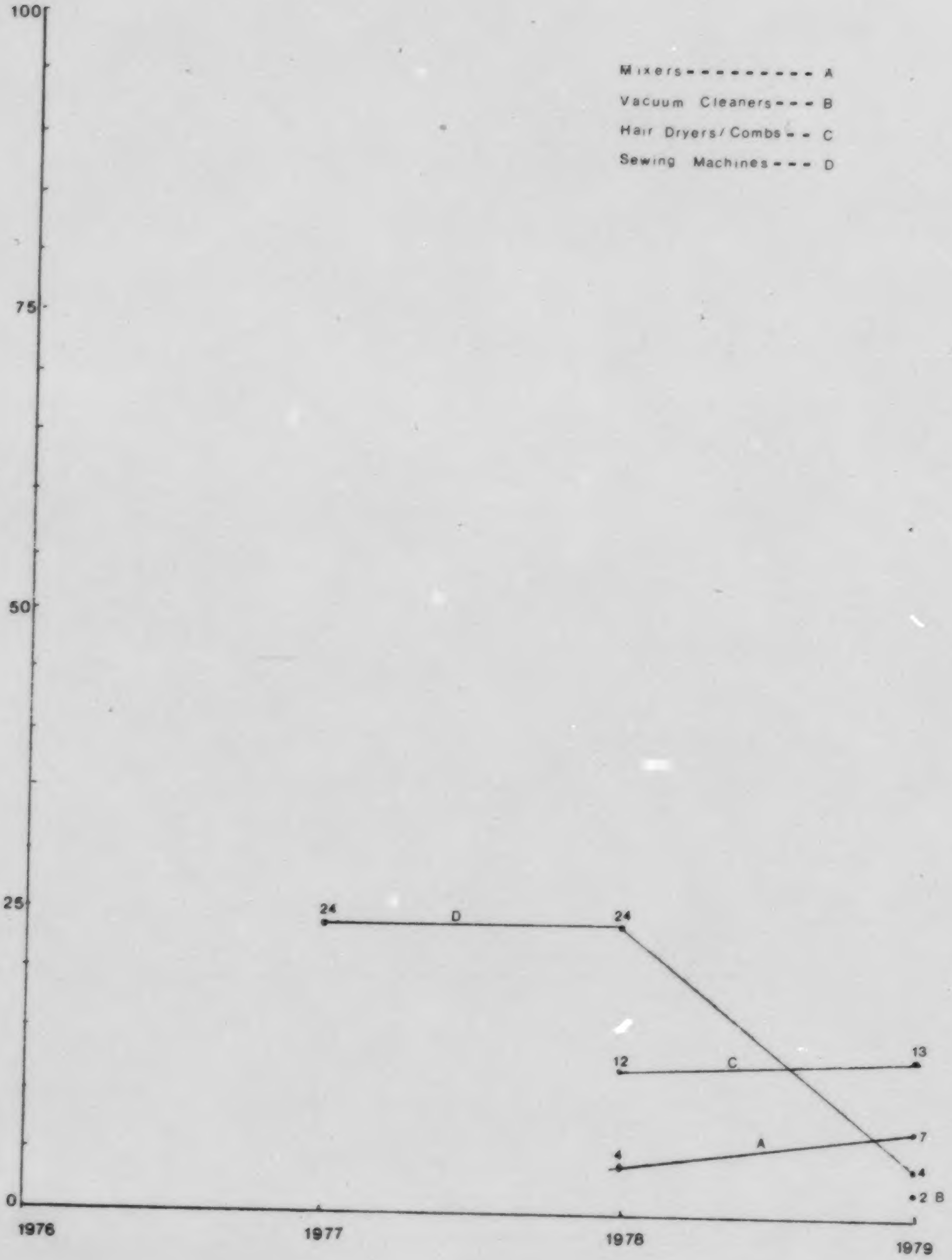
CREE 2


Record Players-- A
Tape Decks ---- B
Tape Recorders-- C
200
150
100
50
0
84
C
48
45
33
15
A
8
1976
1977
1978
1979

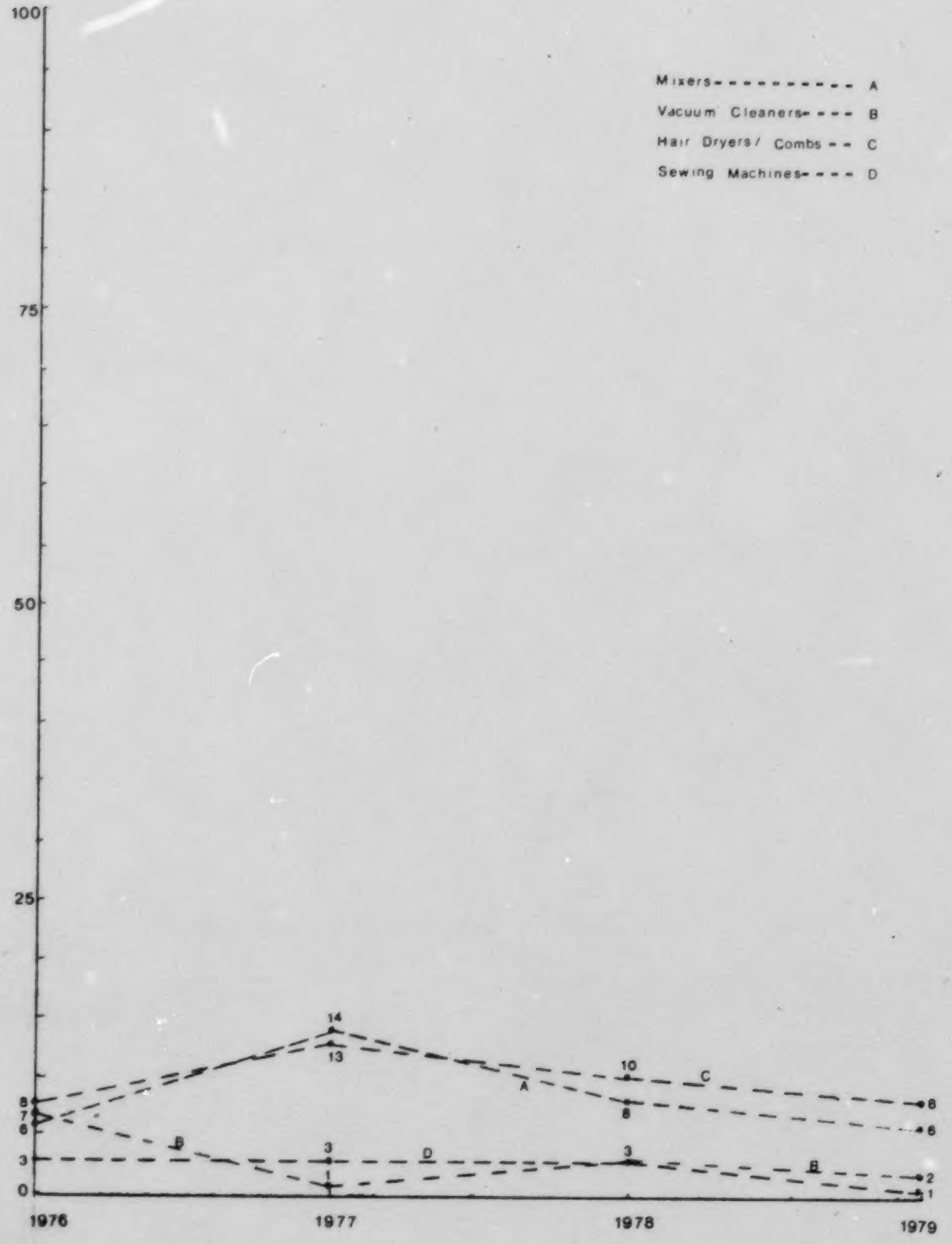
CHFI 1 - STORE A - ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES



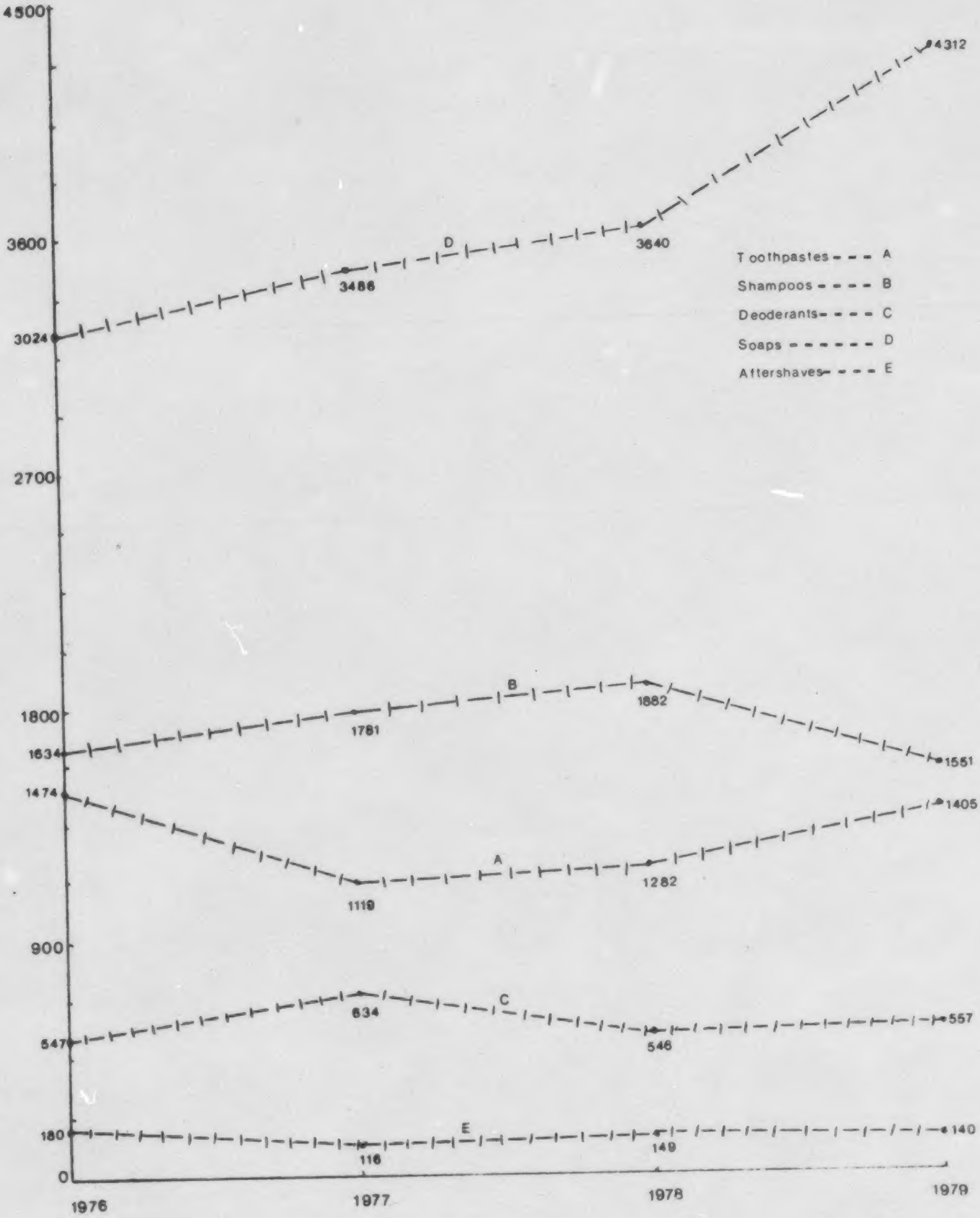
CREE 2 - ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES



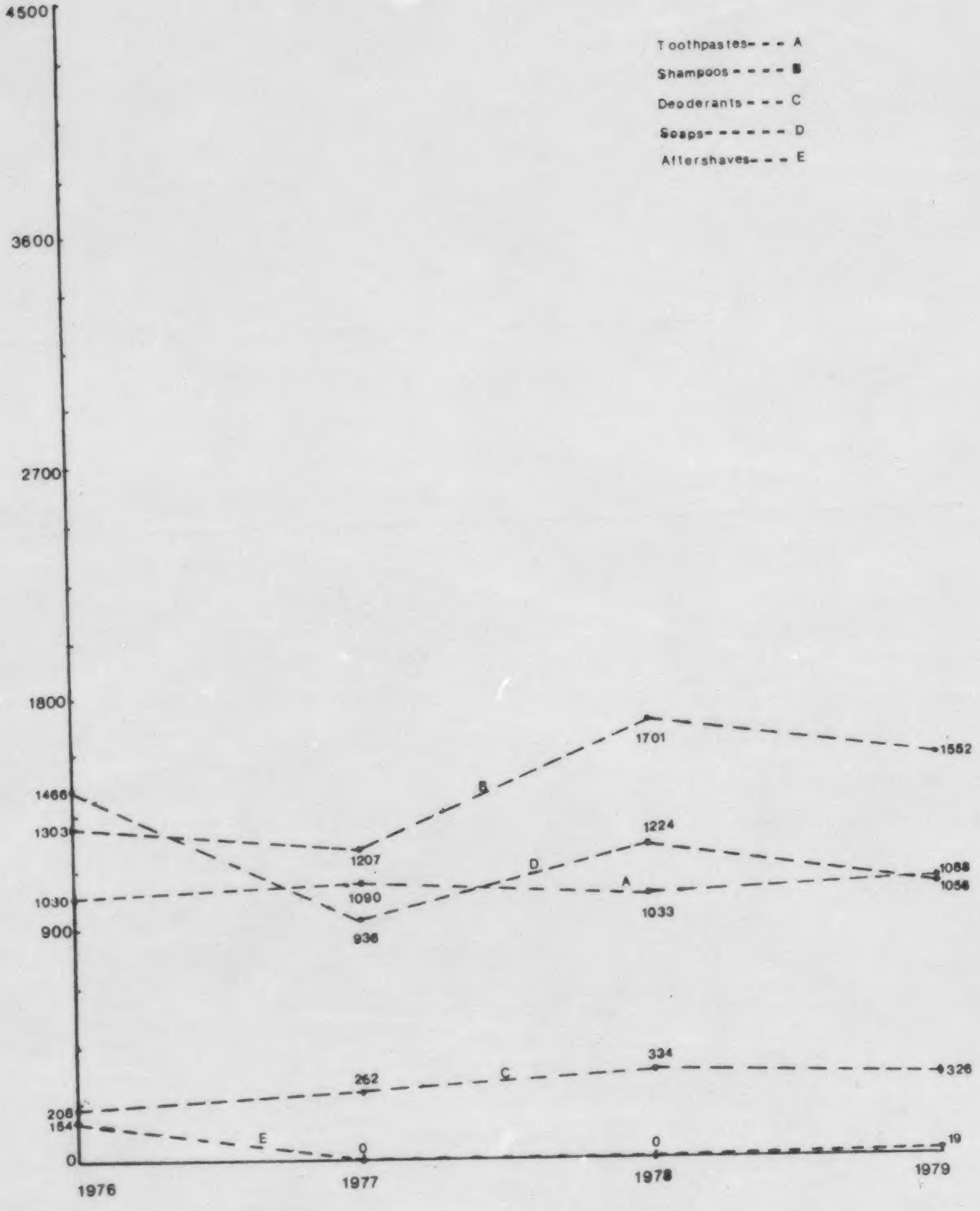
CREE 1- STORE B - ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES



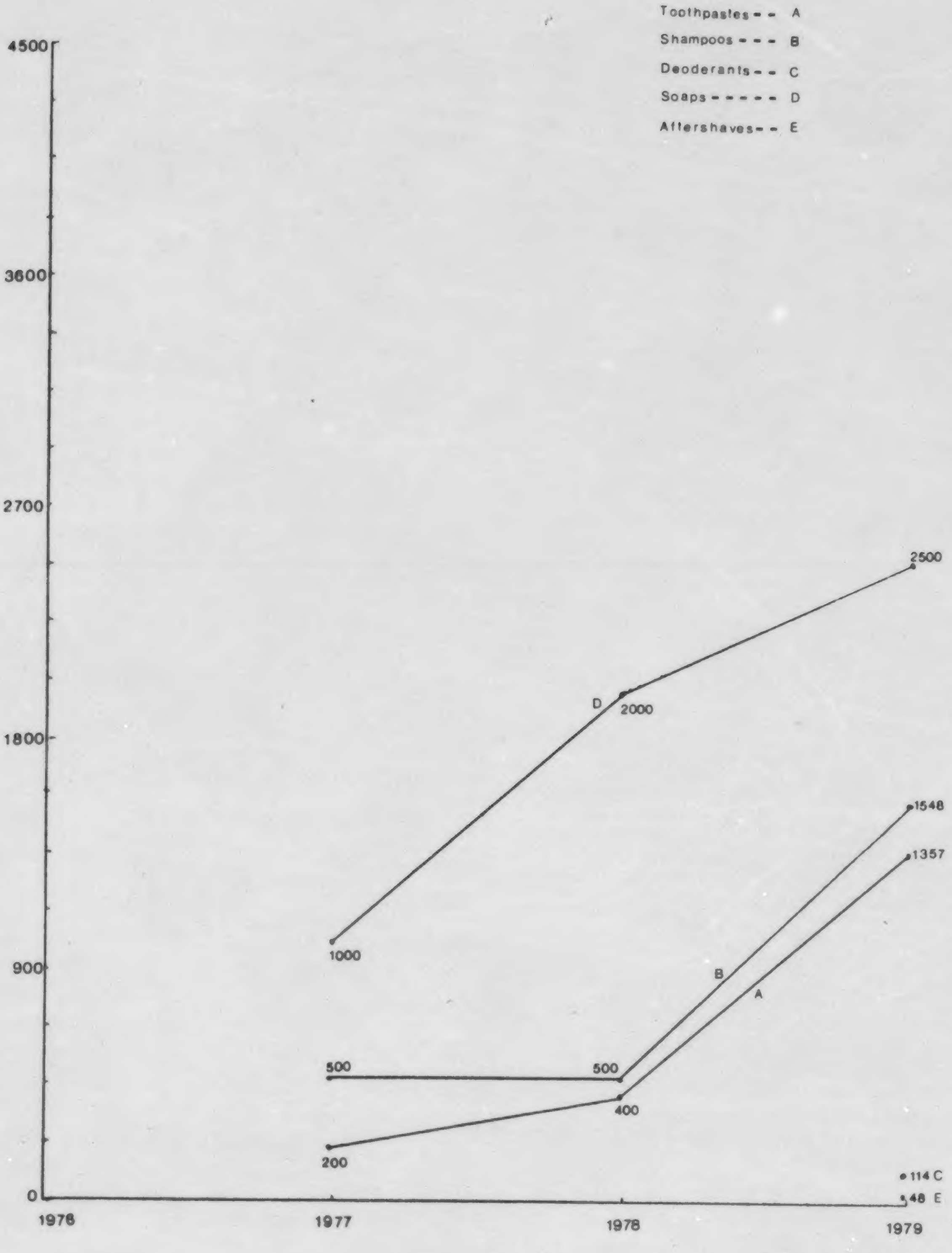
CREE 1 - STORE A - TOILETRIES



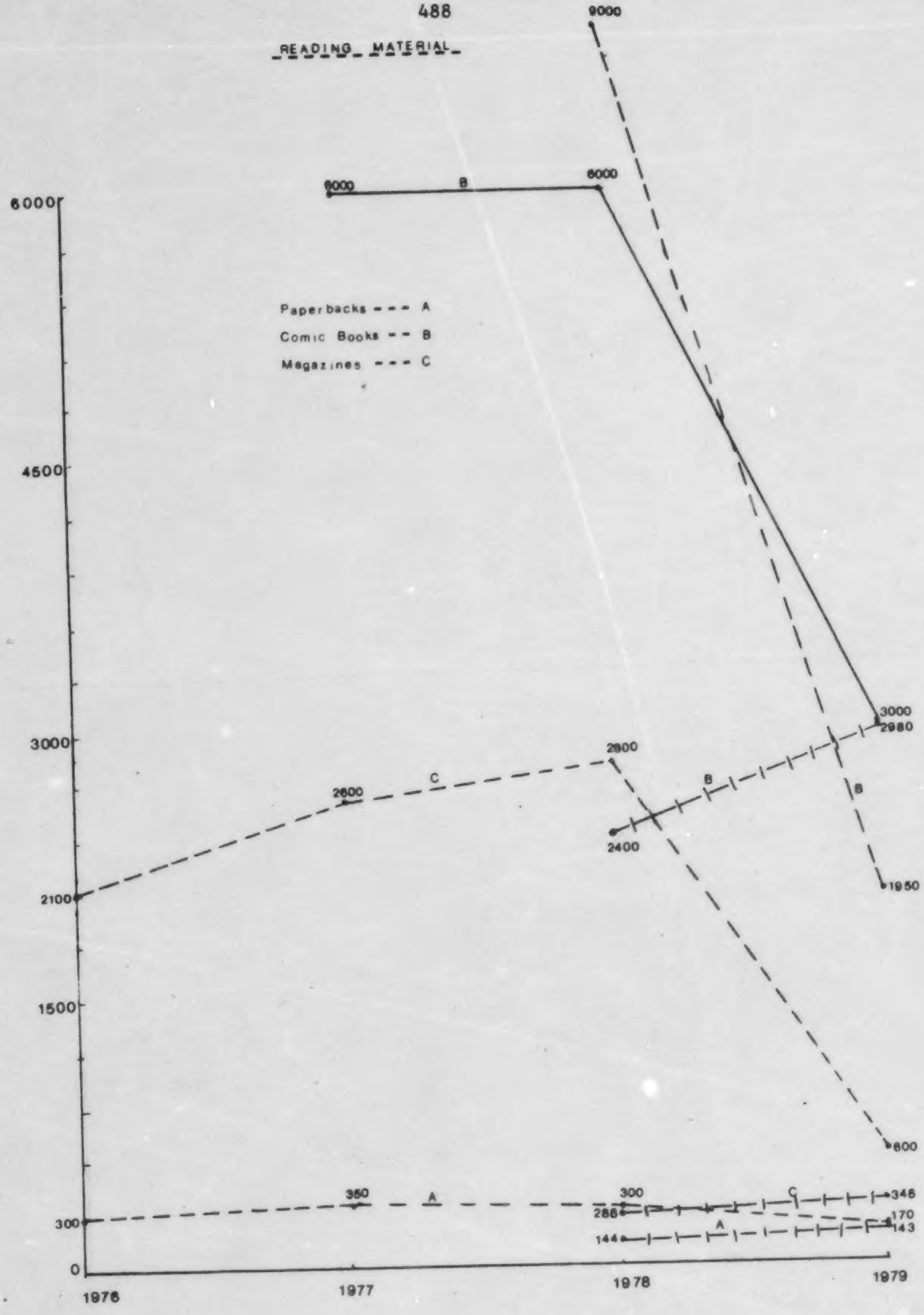
CREE 1 - STORE B - TOILETRIES



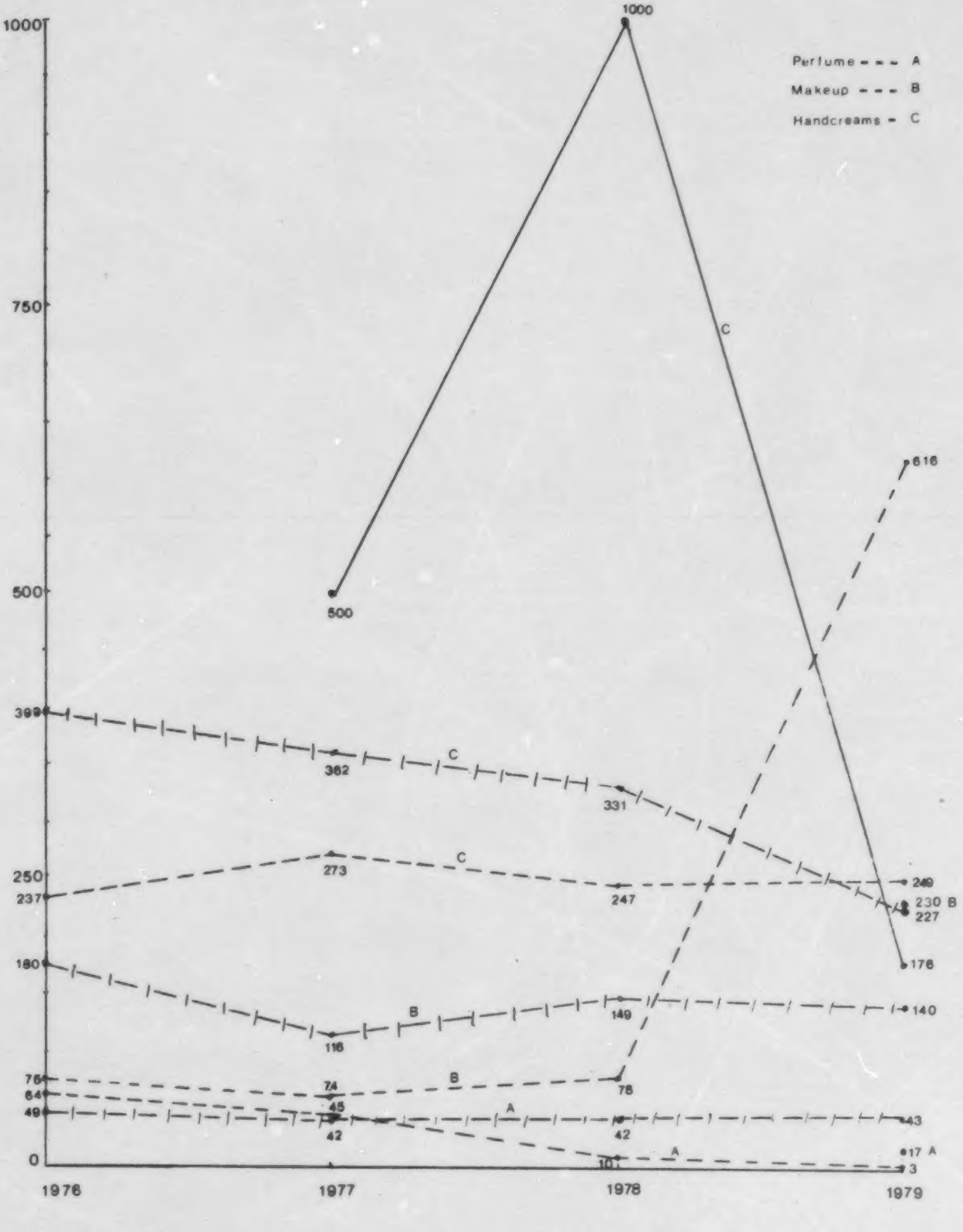
CREE 2 - TOILETRIES



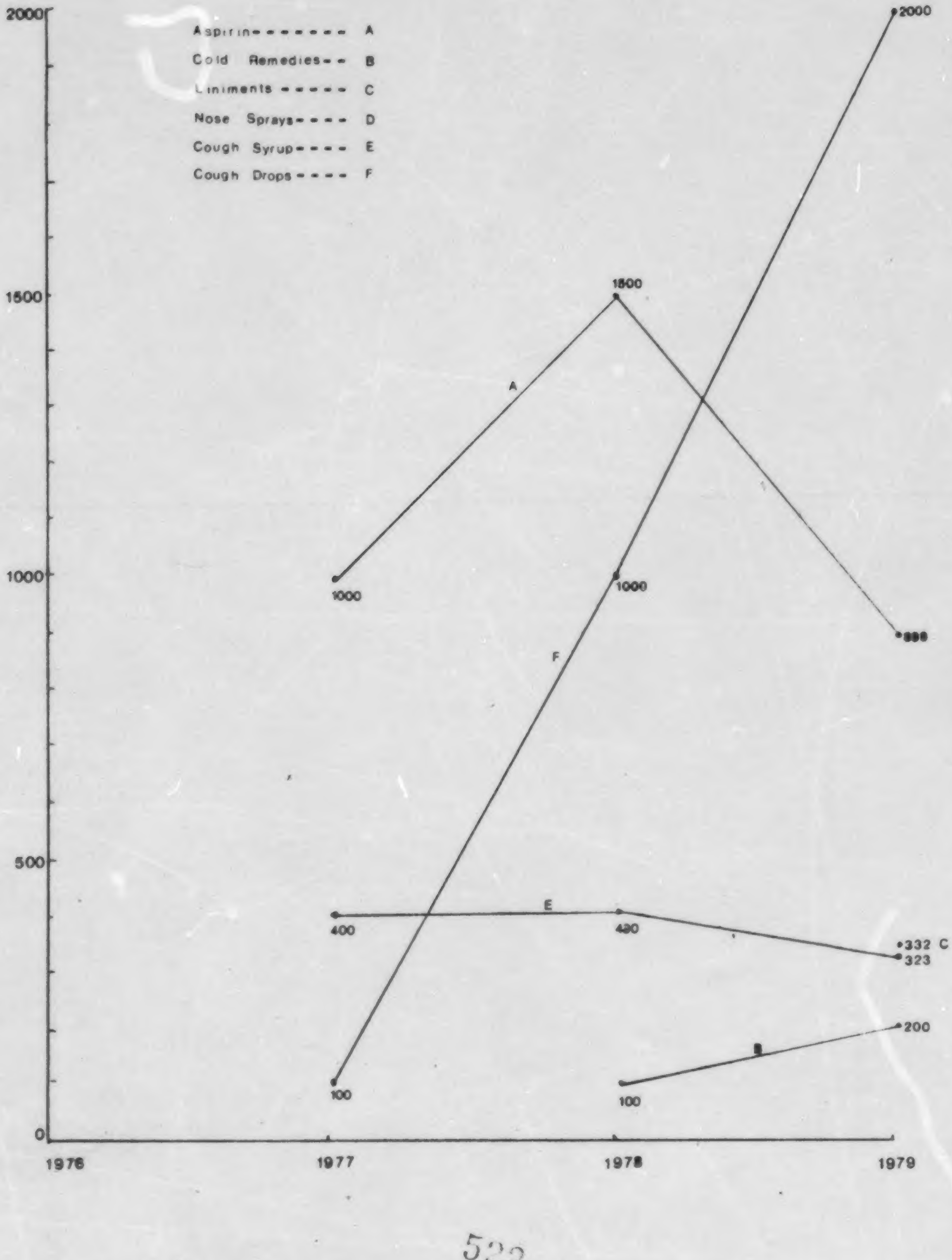
READING MATERIAL



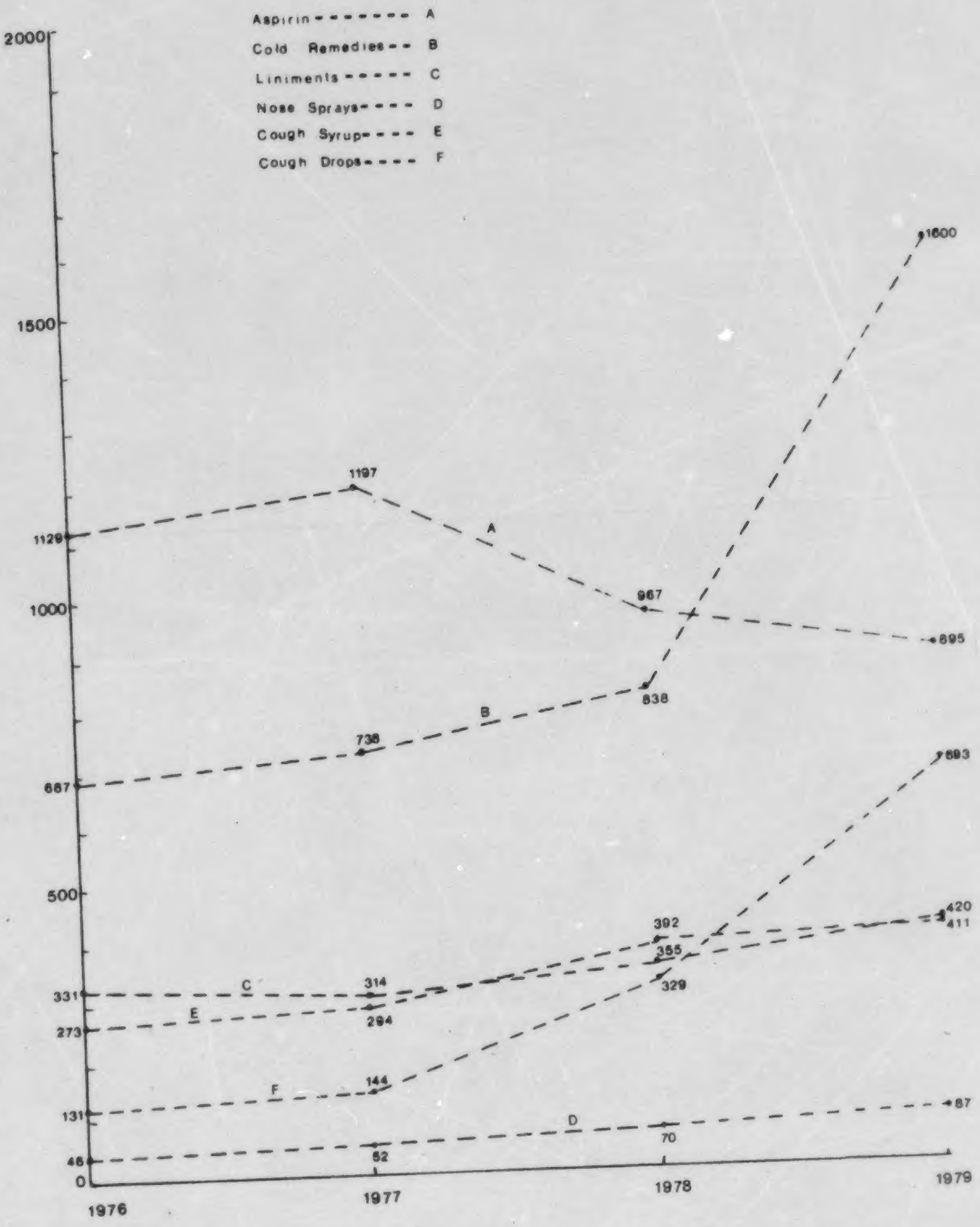
BEAUTY AIDS


Perfume - - - A
Makeup - - - B
Handcreams - C
1000
750
500
250
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
1000
500
C
616
399
362
C
331
273
C
237
247
249
230 B
227
180
176
116
B
149
140
76
74
B
78
64
45
49
42
A
42
43
10
A
17 A
3

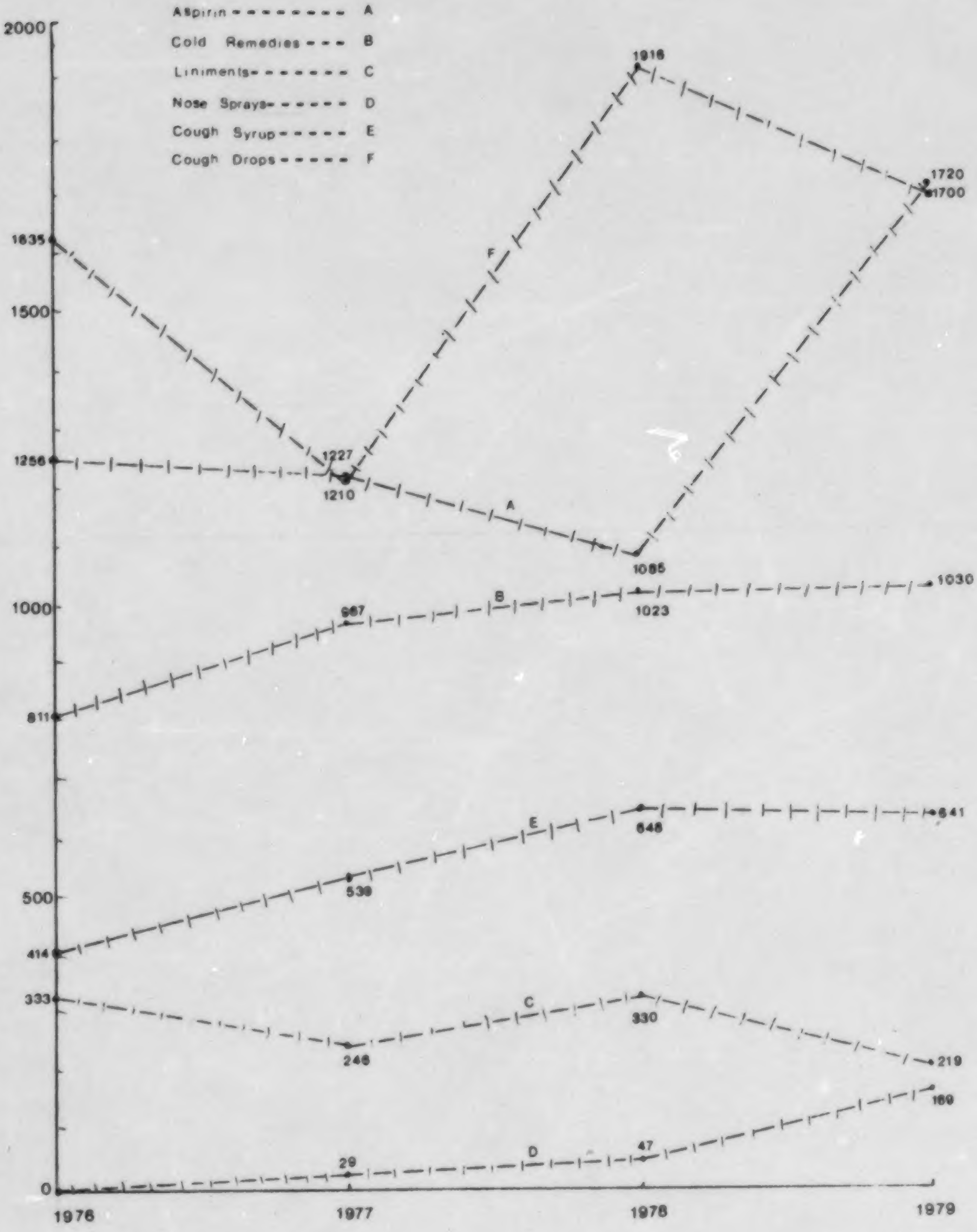
CREE 2 - PATENT MEDICINES



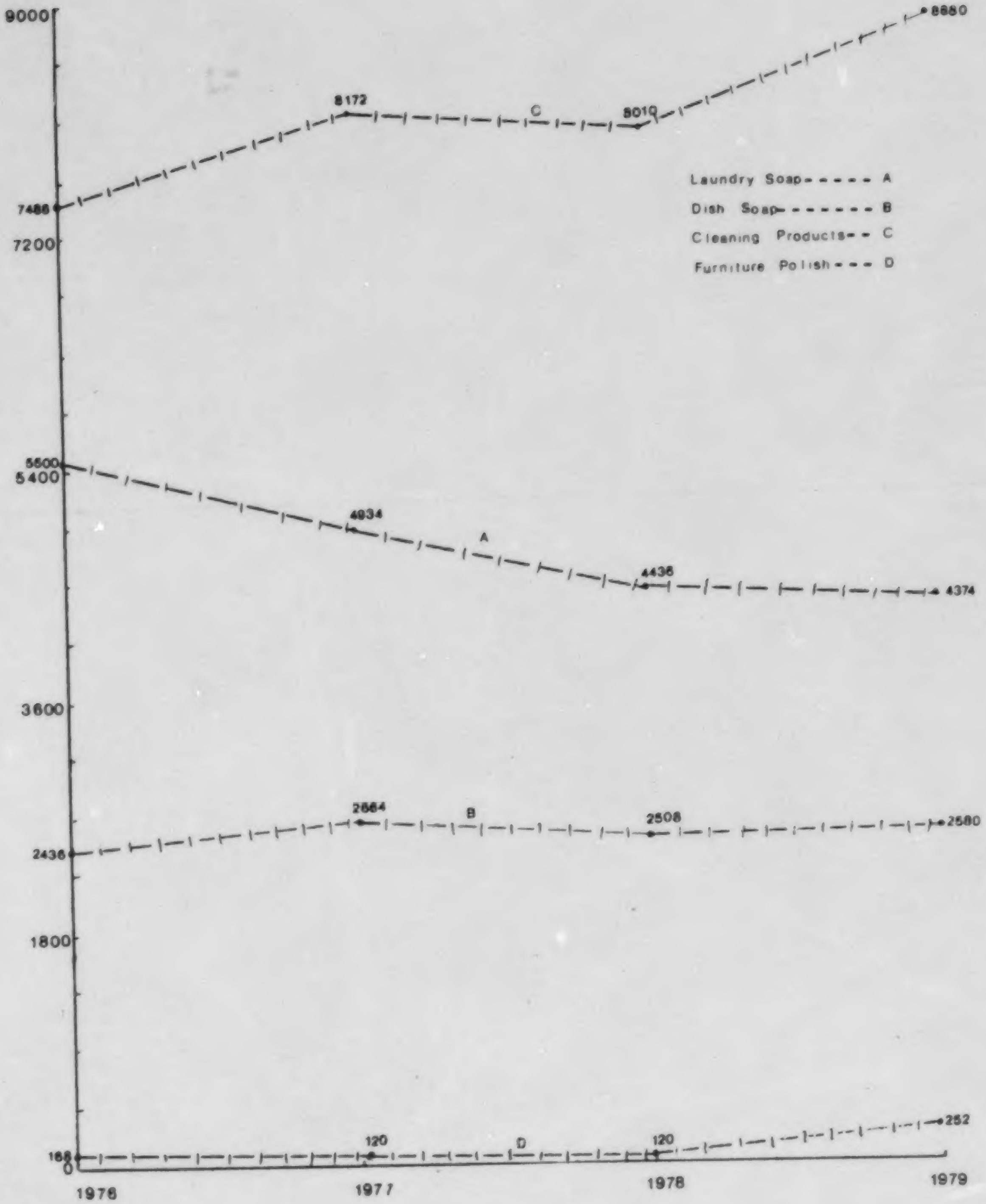
CREE 1- STORE B - PATENT MEDICINES



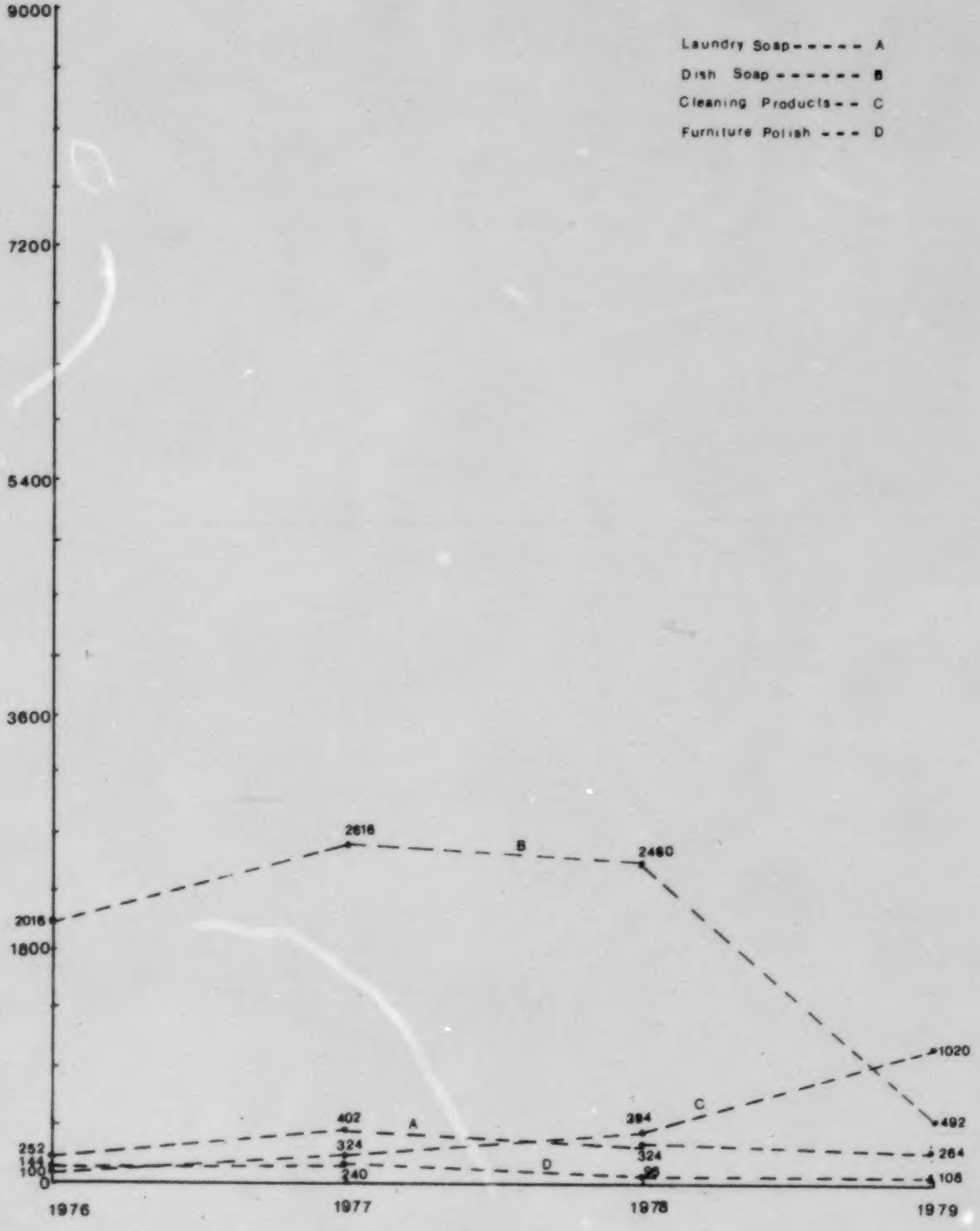
CREE 1- STORE A- PATENT MEDICINES



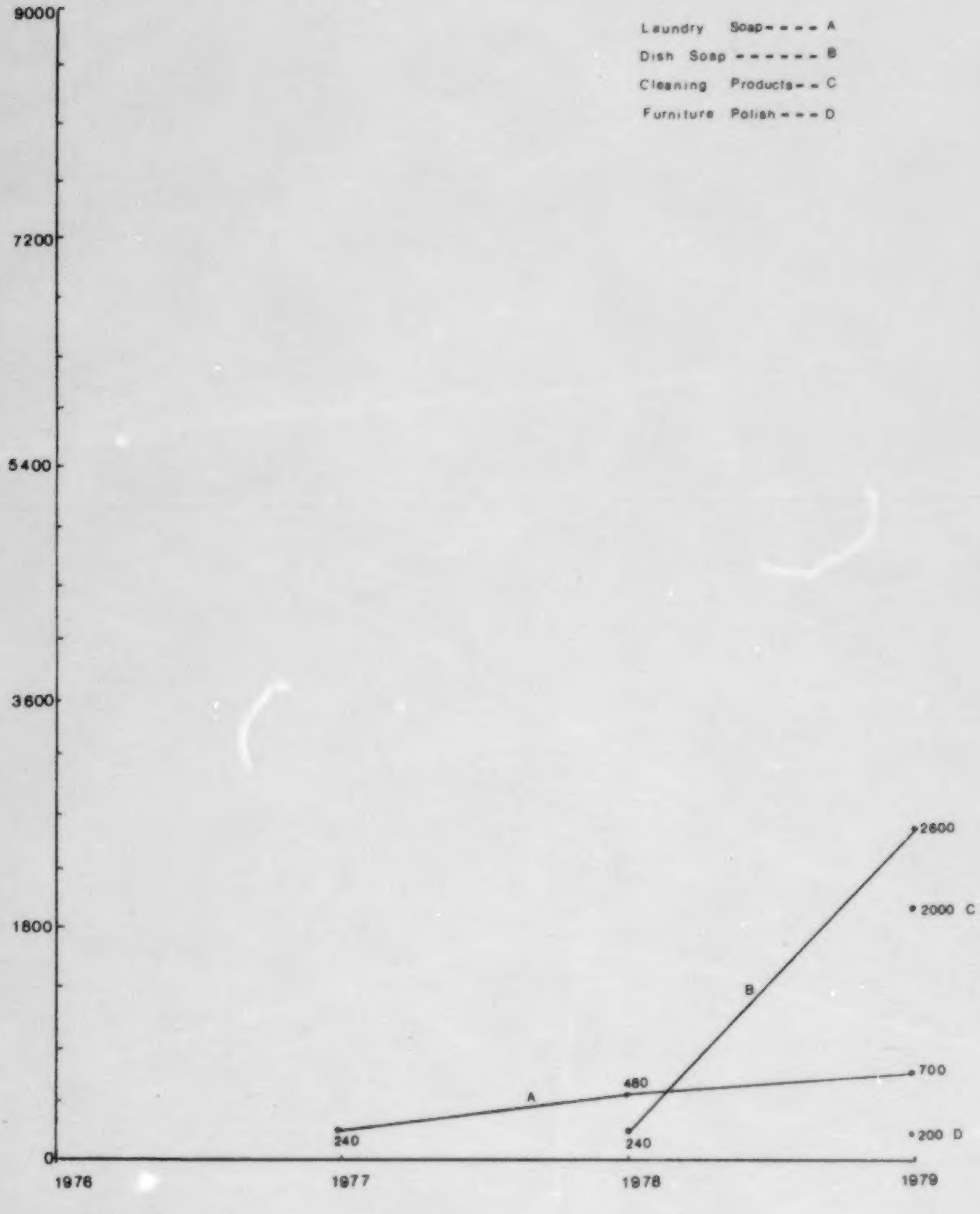
CREE 1- STORE A- HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS



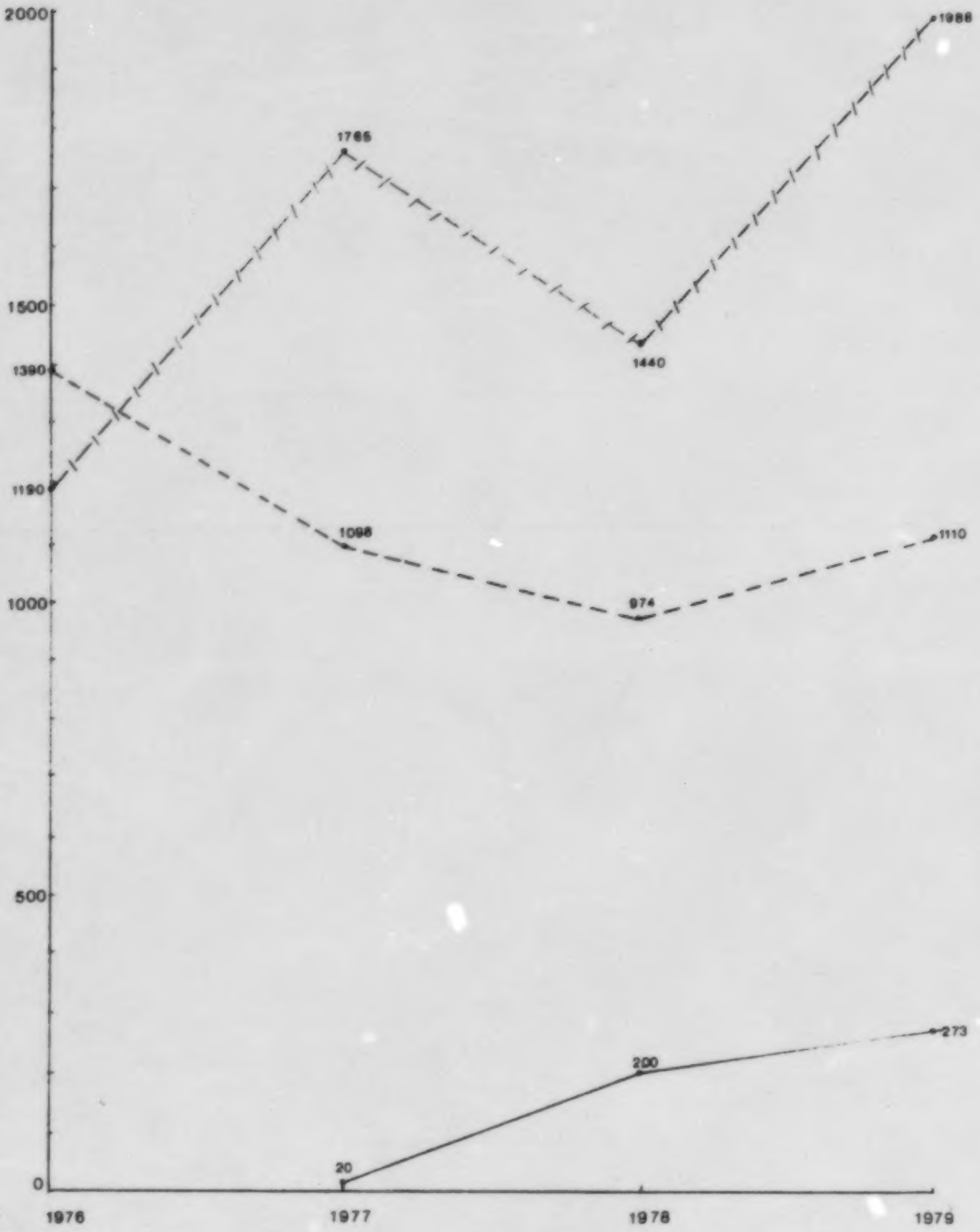
CREE 1- STORE B - HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS



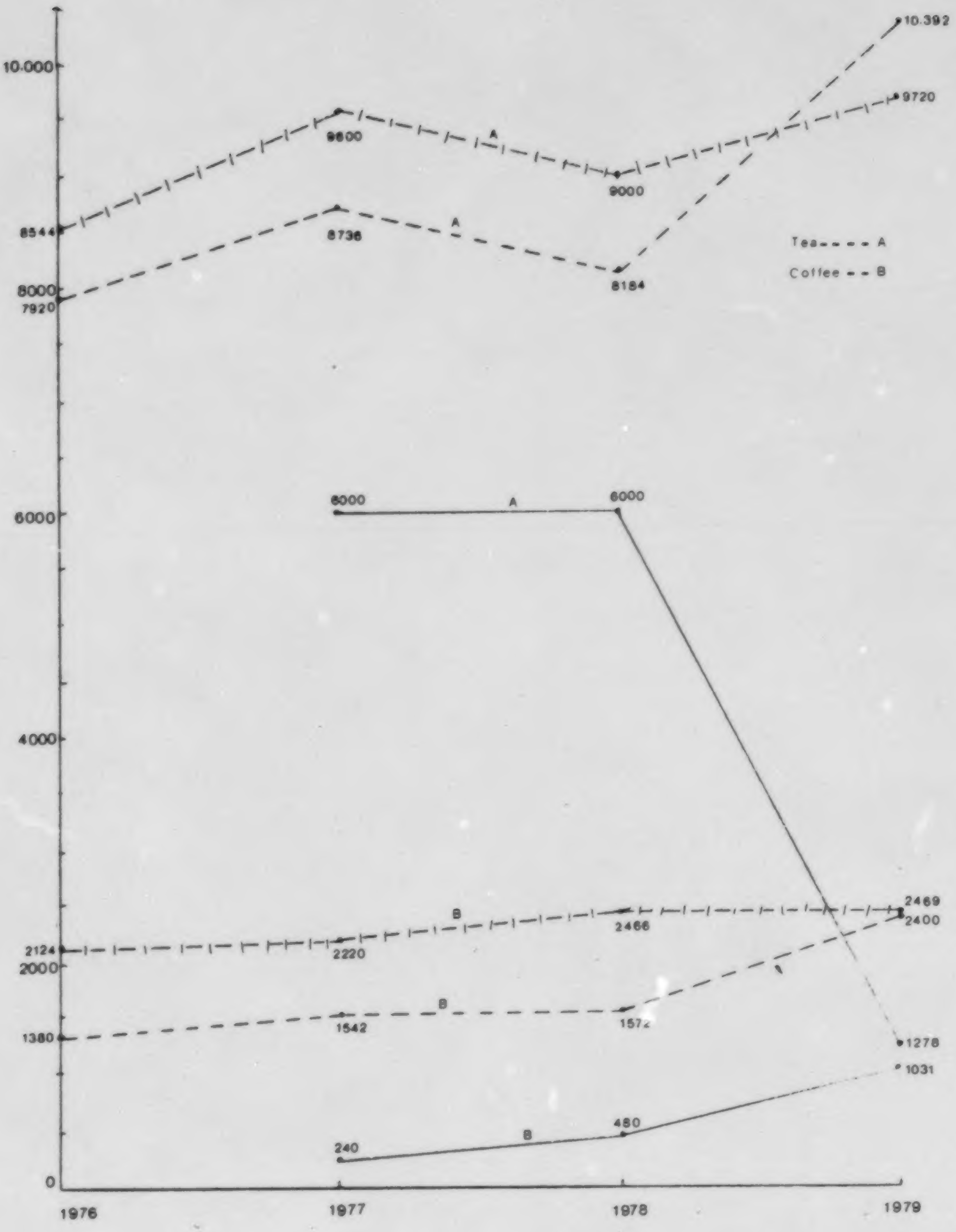
CASE 2 - HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS



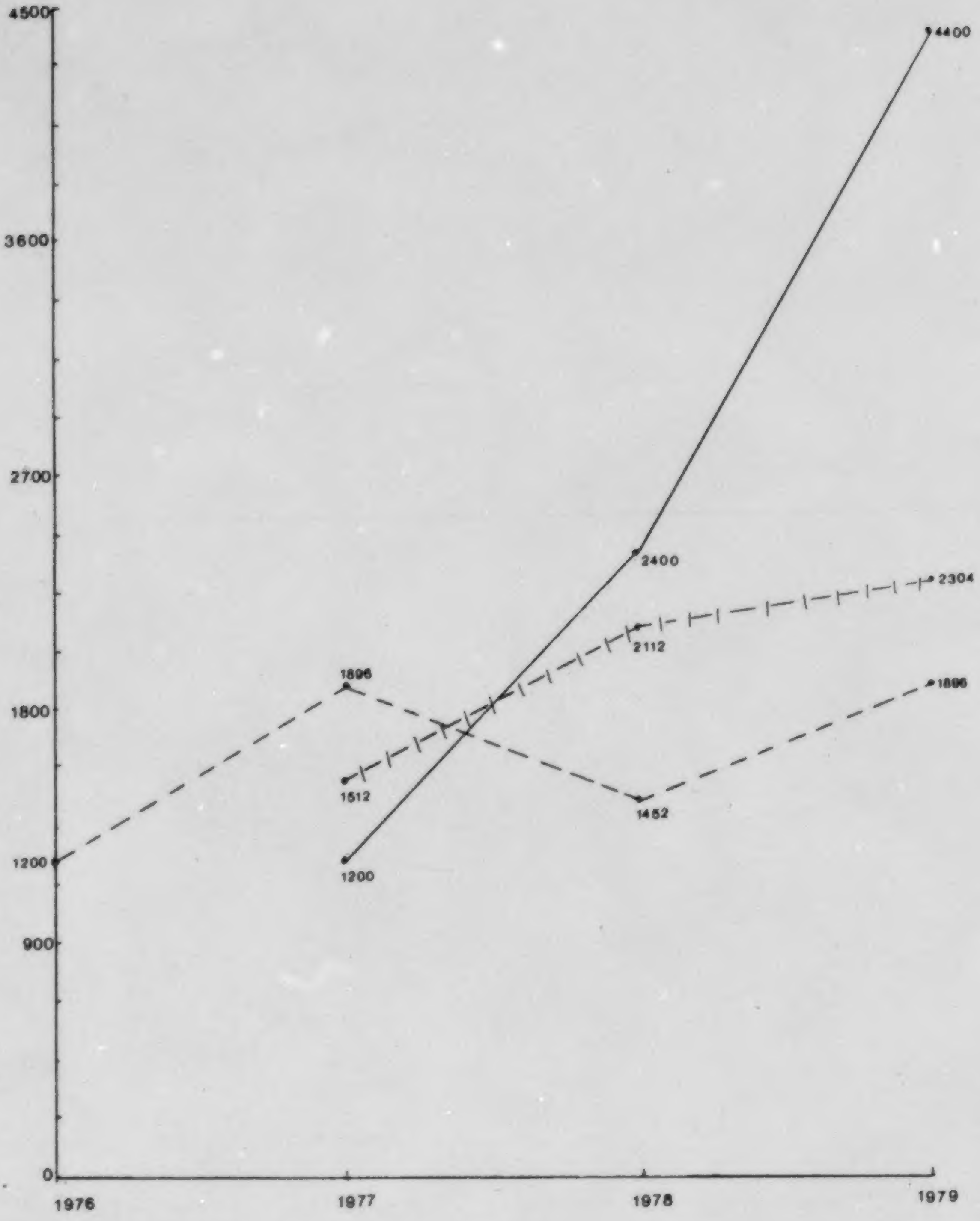
PANTYHOSE


2000
1500
1000
500
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
1190
1765
1440
1988
1390
1098
974
1110
20
200
273

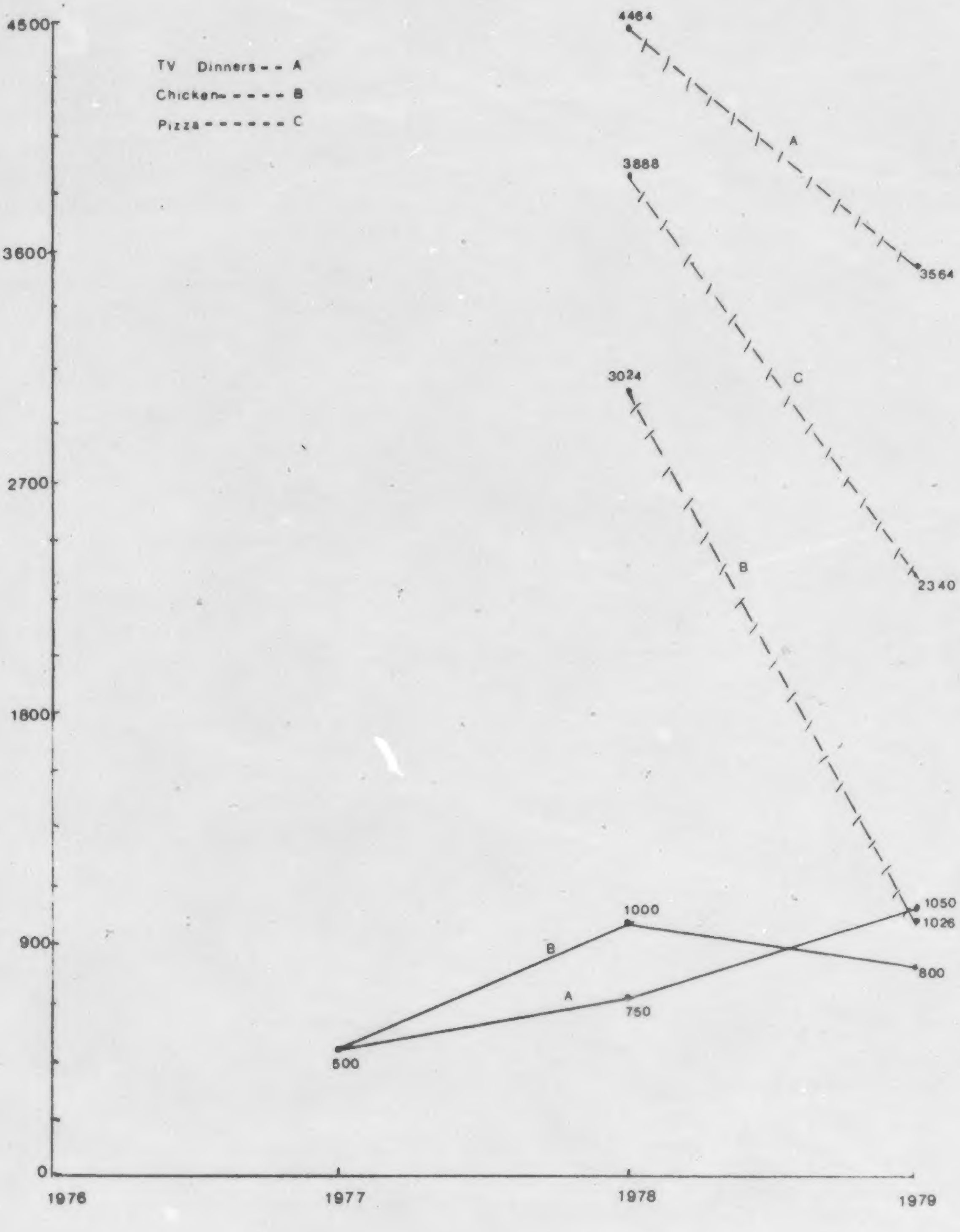
BEVERAGES


10.000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
8544
9600
9000
9720
7920
8736
8184
10.392
6000
6000
2124
2220
2466
2469
1380
1542
1572
2400
240
480
1278
1031
A
A
A
B
B
B
Tea - - - - A
Coffee - - B

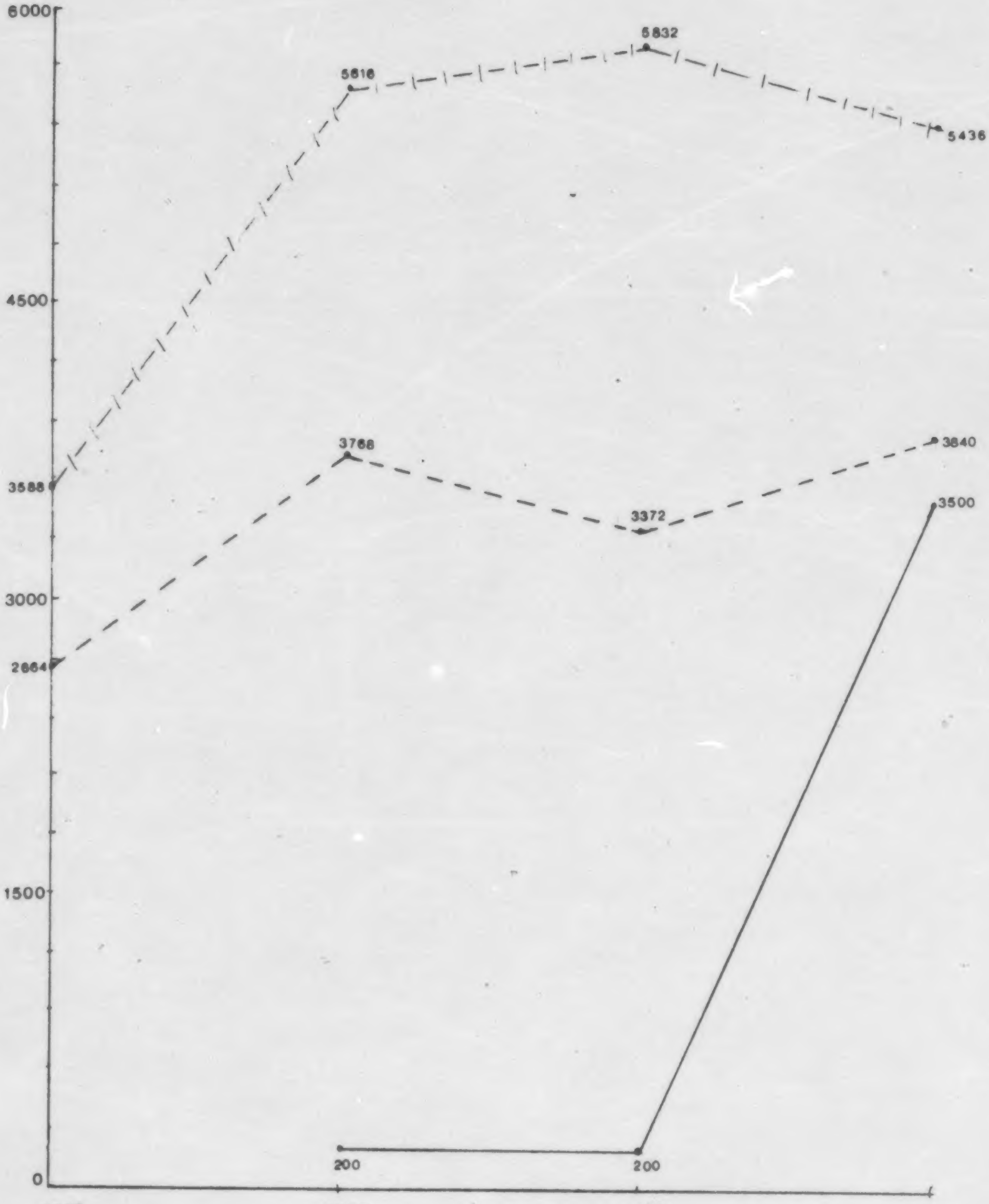
PRE-SWEETENED CHILDREN'S CEREAL



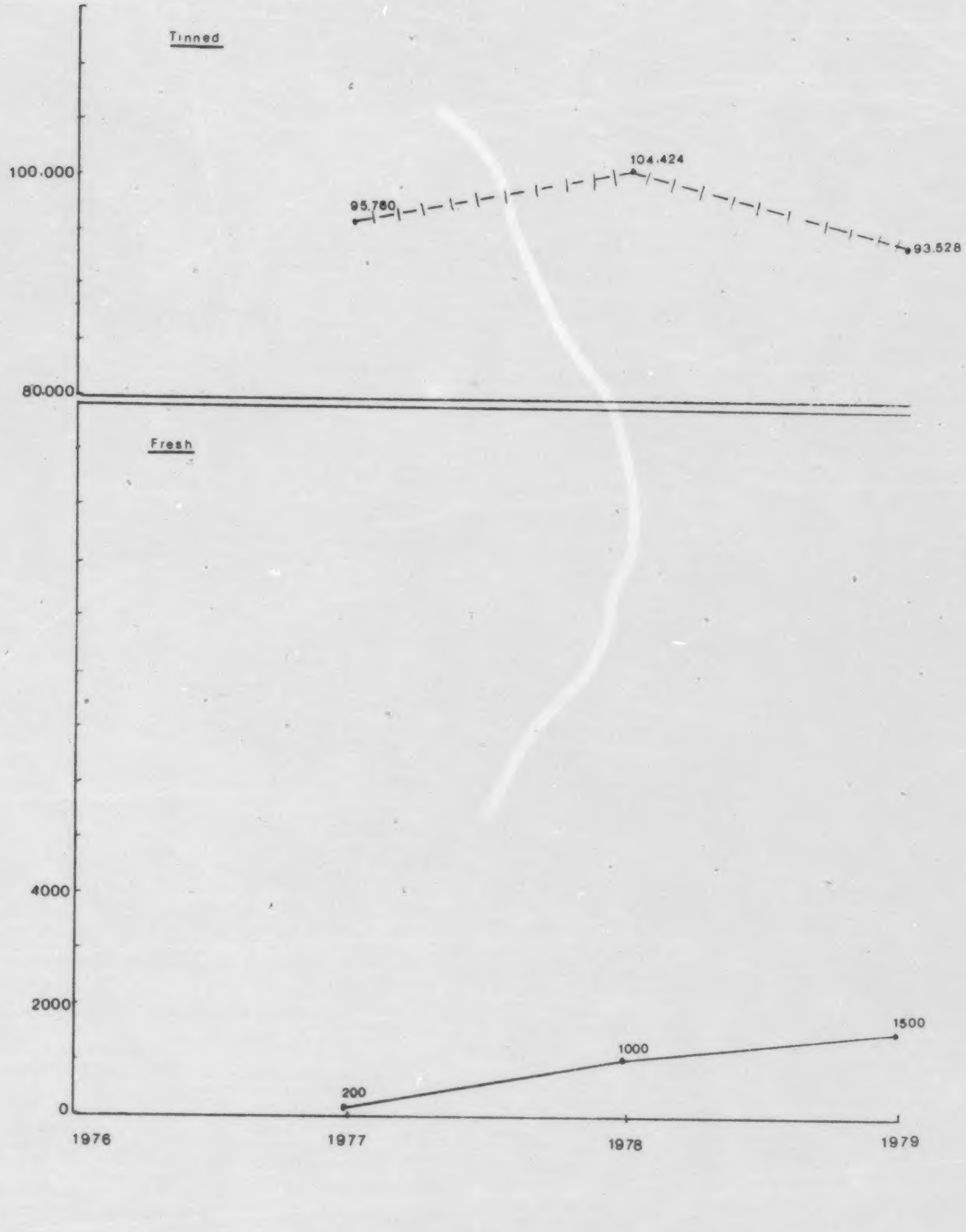
FROZEN FOODS



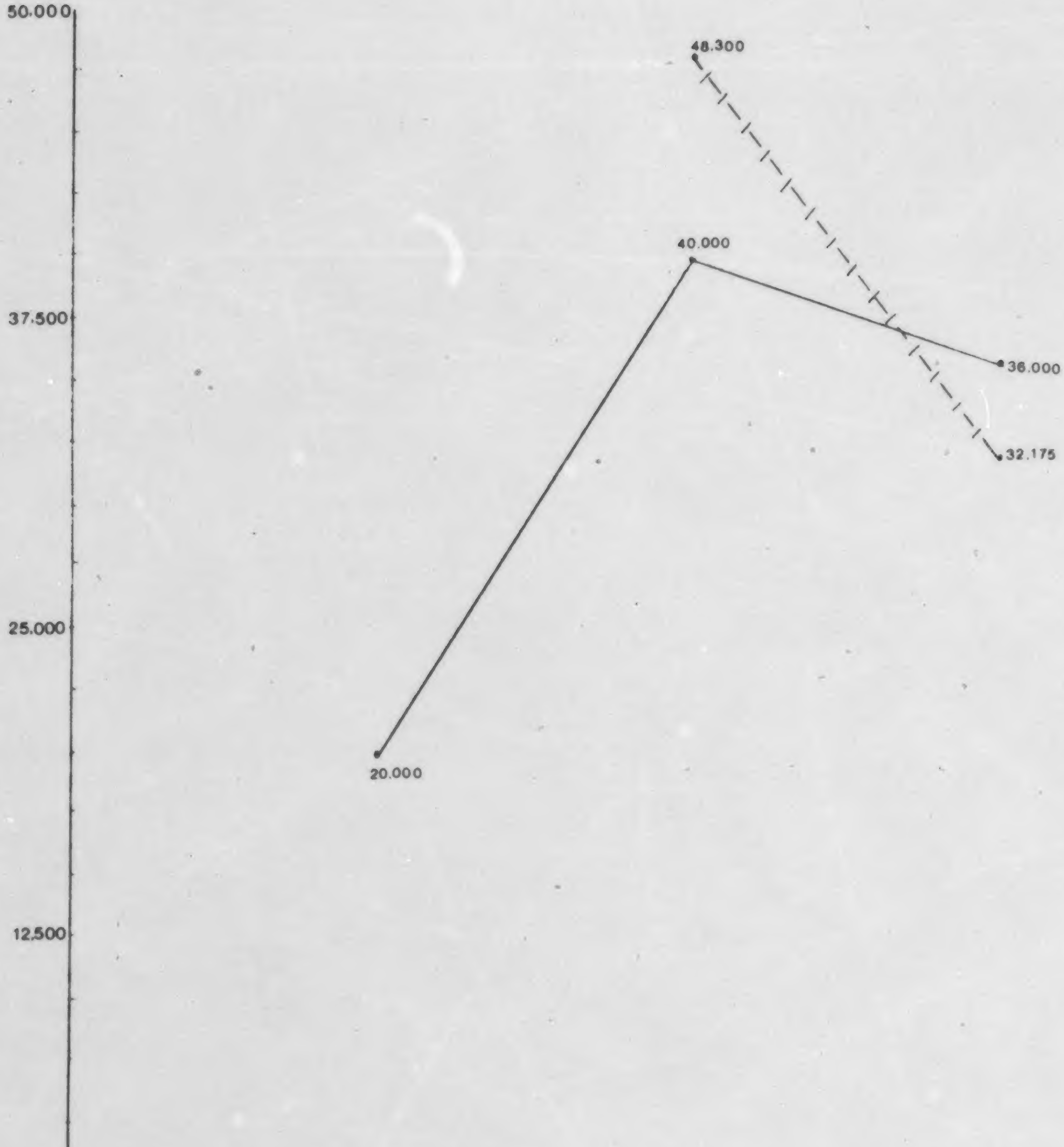
CAKE MIXES


6000
4500
3000
1500
0
5616
5832
5436
3588
3768
3372
3640
2664
3500
200
200
1976
1977
1978
1979

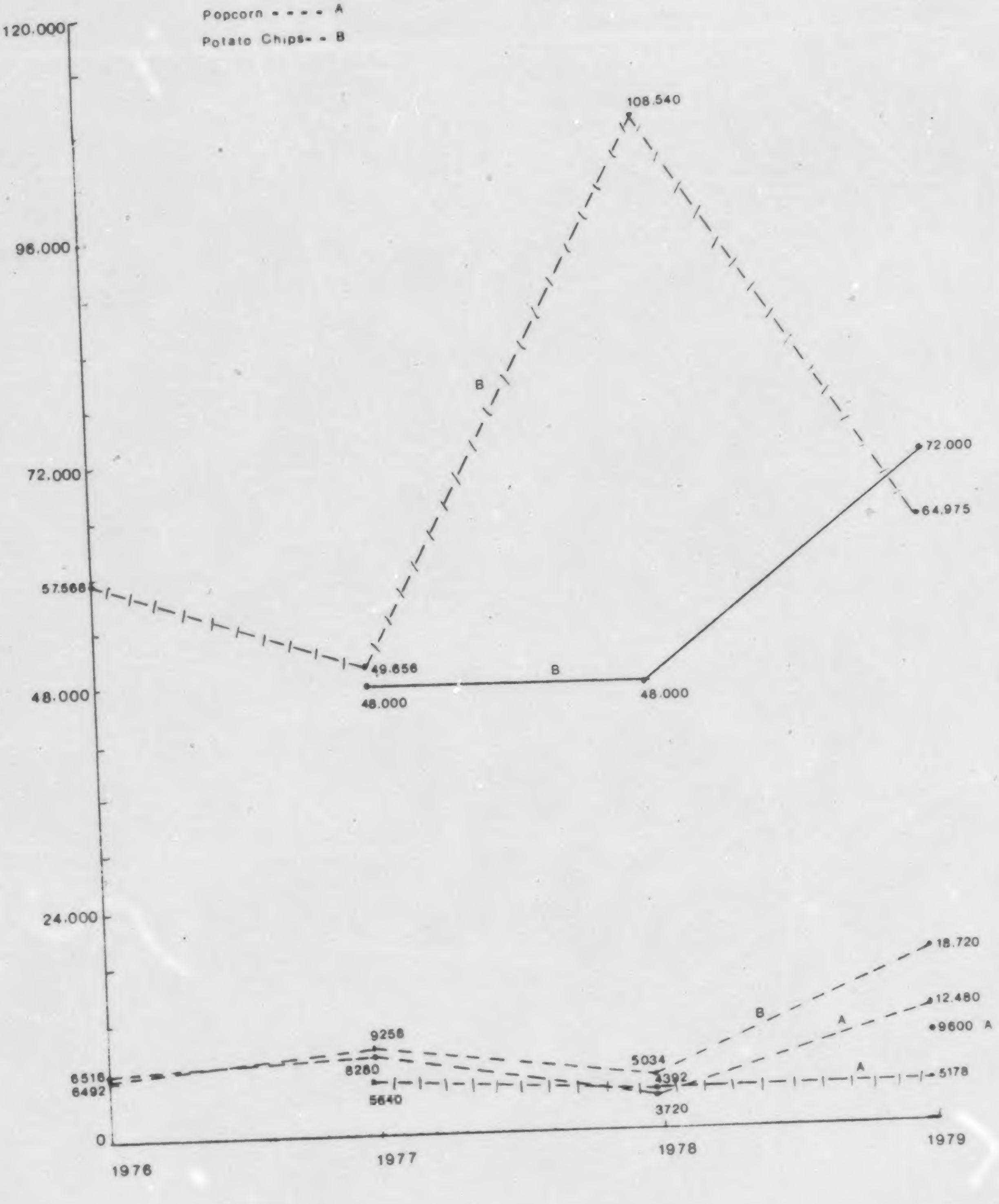
MILK


Tinned
100.000
80.000
95.760
104.424
93.528
Fresh
4000
2000
0
200
1000
1500
1976
1977
1978
1979

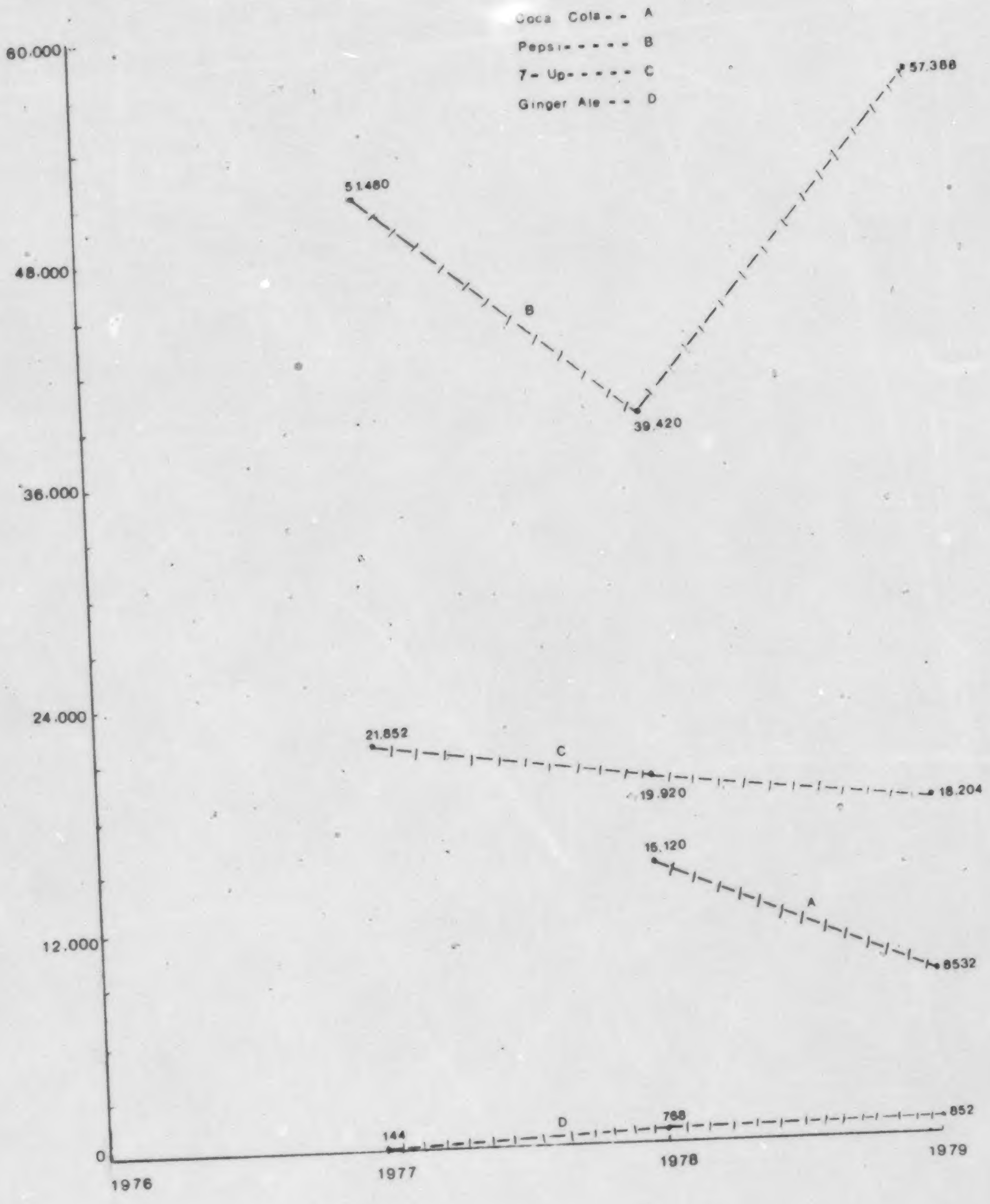
EGGS
(dozens)


50.000
37.500
25.000
12.500
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
48.300
40.000
36.000
32.175
20.000

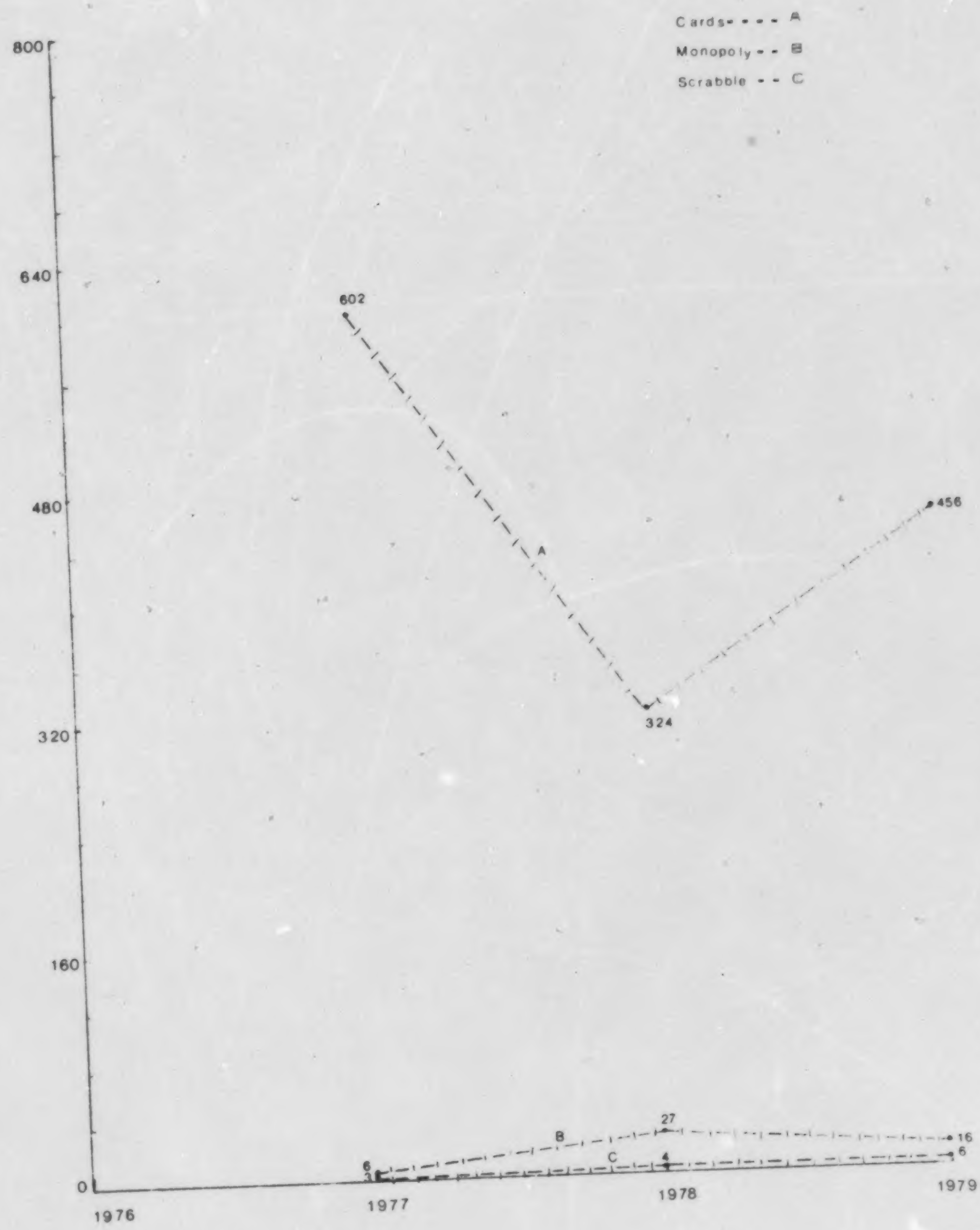
SNACK FOODS


Popcorn - - - - A
Potato Chips- - B
120.000
96.000
72.000
48.000
24.000
0
108.540
B
72.000
64.975
57.568
49.656
48.000
B
48.000
18.720
12.480
B
A
9600 A
9258
8280
5034
4392
A
5178
6516
6492
5640
3720
1976
1977
1978
1979

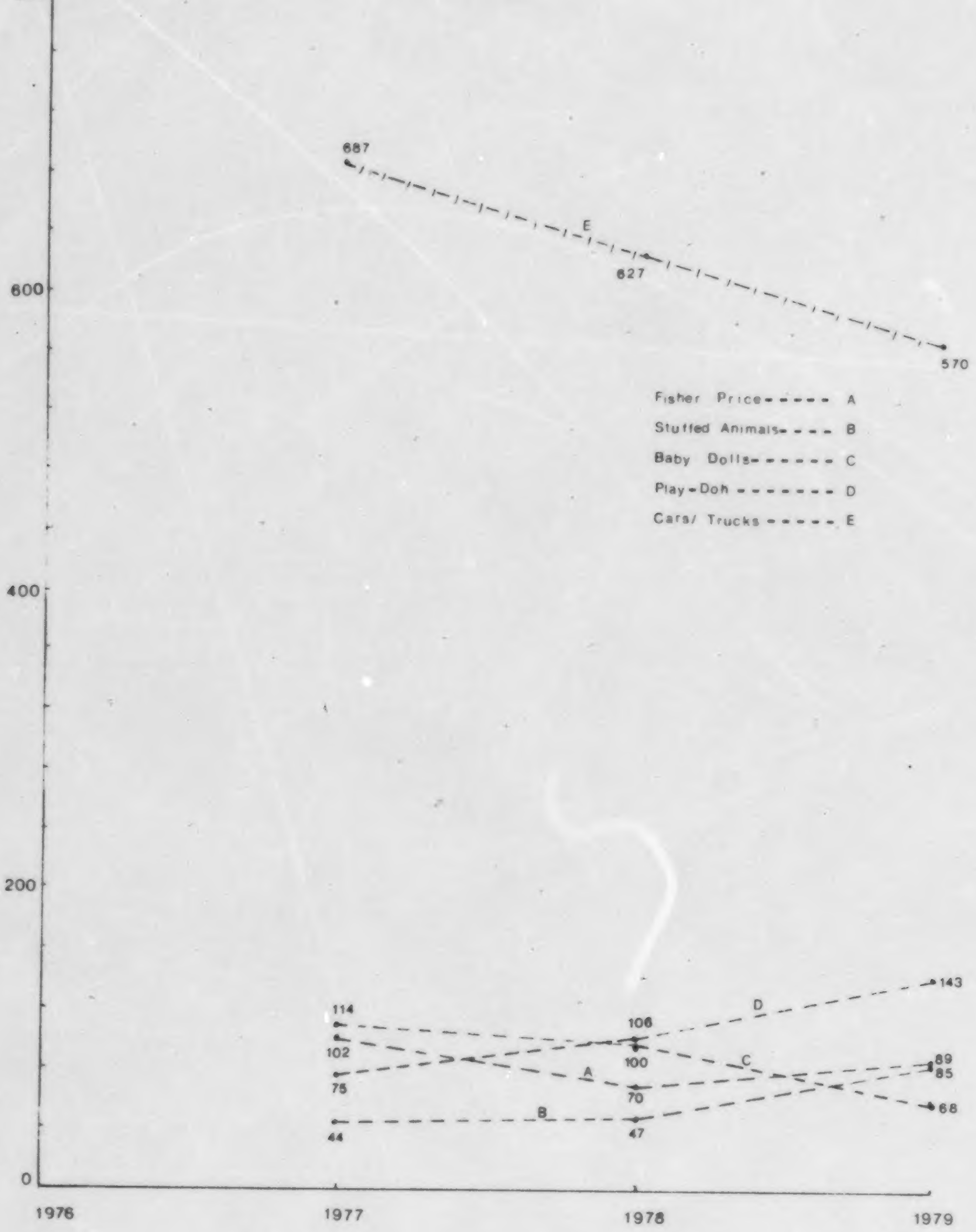
SOFT DRINKS


Coca Cola - - A
Pepsi - - - - - B
7 - Up - - - - - C
Ginger Ale - - D
60.000
48.000
36.000
24.000
12.000
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
51.480
B
39.420
57.388
21.852
C
19.920
18.204
15.120
A
8532
144
D
768
852

GAMES


Cards - - - - A
Monopoly - - B
Scrabble - - C
800
640
480
320
160
0
1976
1977
1978
1979
602
A
324
456
6
3
B
27
16
C
4
6

CHILDREN'S TOYS



APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire Assessing Consumer Buying Trends in Two Northern Native Communities

QUESTIONNAIRE
on
THE EFFECT OF TELEVISION ON CONSUMER BUYING TRENDS

Store Manager . . . .

Location of Store . . . .

Length of time at your present store . . . .

Were you present when television was introduced into your community?. . .

If not, could you tell us the name of the Manager who was?. . . . .

In answering the following questions, would you please break up the 1977 figures semi-annually. If possible, please provide annual figures for any earlier years back to 1975.

PART A: QUANTITIES OF MERCHANDISE SOLD

Where information is available, would you please provide figures on the quantity of products sold in the categories listed below:

				1977				
		1979	1978	Whole Year	First Half Year	First Quarter	1976	1975
1.	Total No.of TV's							
a.	No.of Coloured							
b.	No.Black & White							
c.	No. 12-14"Screen							
d.	No. 14-18"							
e.	No. 18-24"							
f.	No. 24"							
2.	TV Tables							
3.	Antennae							
4.	Decorative Shelving							
5.	Total Radios							
a.	AM							
b.	AM/FM							
c.	Short Wave							

Page 2 - Questionnaire on the Effect of Television on Consumer Buying Trends

	1979	1978	1977			1976	1975
			Whole Year	First Half Year	First Quarter		
6. Record Players							
7. Tape Decks							
8. Tape Recorders							
9. 8-Tracks							
10. Cassettes							
11. Records							
a. 45's							
b. L.P.'s							
12. Total Paperbacks							
a. Westerns							
b. Romance							
c. Adventure							
d. Detective							
13. Total Comic Books							
a. Superhero							
b. Other							
14. Magazines							
a. Ladies'							
b. Men's							
c. Other							
15. Shampoos							
16. Tooth Pastes							
17. Soaps							
18. Aftershaves							
19. Perfumes							
Makeup							
Hand Creams							

Page 3 - Questionnaire on the Effect of Television on Consumer Buying Trends

			1977				
	1979	1978	Whole Year	First Half Year	First Quarter	1976	1975
22. Deodorants							
23. Aspirin							
24. Cold Remedies							
25. Liniments							
26. Nose Sprays							
27. Cough Syrups							
28. Cough Drops							
29. Name Brand Laundry Soaps							
30. Name Brand Dish Soaps							
31. Name Brand Cleaning products							
32. Name Brand Furniture polish							
33. Electric Mixers							
34. Vaccuum Cleaners							
35. Hair Blow Dryers							
36. Hot Combs							
37. sewing machines							
38. Pantyhose							
39. tea							
40. coffee							
41. Pre-sweetened childrens' cereal							
42. Packaged one-dish dinners							
43. Frozen Foods							
a. TV Dinners							
b. Chicken							
c. Pizza							
d. Vegetables							

Page 4 - Questionnaire on the Effect of Television on Consumer Buying Trends

	1979	1978	Whole Year	1977 First Half Year	First Quarter	1976	1975
44. Cake Mixes							
45. Milk							
46. Eggs							
47. Junk Food							
a. Popcorn							
b. Potato Chips							

PART B:

1. When did your store begin selling Televisions?

2. Regarding the section in Part B referring to records, have you noticed any changes in the type of music being requested? Please specify.

3. Regarding household products, has anyone come in requesting to rent a "Rug Doctor" (rug cleaning machine)?

4. Regarding clothing, has there been a decrease in the sale of bolt cloth?

5. Has there been an increase in the request for "current fashions"?

6. Have you had an increase in requests for name brand soft drinks, (i.e., Coke, Pepsi, etc.)?

7. Have you had an increase in requests for fresh vegetables?

8. Speaking personally and subjectively, do you have any overall impressions of changing consumer patterns perhaps caused by television?

Chapter 14

Telecommunication and Change among Cree Students

by
Cecil Pereira

TELECOMMUNICATION AND CHANGES AMONG CREE STUDENTS

(A comparative and longitudinal analysis of two remote
non-urban Cree communities in Northern Canada)

This study has three objectives:

a) to describe how junior high Cree students in two remote northern Canadian communities use leisure time,

b) to identify factors which explain the pattern of leisure activities, and

c) to explore through a comparison of data (collected at three year intervals) changes in patterns of social activities.

The respondents in the study belong to 'original' or 'Native' Canadian groups living in Northern Manitoba where hunting, trapping and trading are the dominant work activities of community members. In the last decade modern telecommunication technologies, including television have been introduced to the people of the area and it is expected that these innovations may trigger changes in both the life styles and the primary social relationships of the people. This study examines data collected at three different time periods, with each subsequent period being three years apart from the earlier data collection period. Three such data collecting excursions were undertaken resulting in six data sets. The first data collecting project took place in 1972-73 when television had not yet been introduced into either community. When the second data-collecting activity took place in 1975-76 one community had just received television while the other community was still without it. Three years later, at the time of the third data collecting period (1978-79) both communities had been exposed to television, one for four years and the other for one year. Schematically the research design is as follows:

	Time I '73	'74	Time II '75	'77	Time III '78
Community A	1) No Television	TV	2) One year of Television	TV	3) Four years of Television
Community B	4) No Television	No TV	5) No Television	TV	6) One Year of Television

Some of the possible ways data can be compared are

a) the same community across time, i.e. compare cell 1 to 2, 2 to 3 and 4 to 5, 5 to 6

b) compare the two communities at each time period, i.e. compare cell 1 to 4, 2 to 5 and 3 to 6 and finally,

c) compare the two communities at the same phase of exposure to television, i.e. cell 2 and 6.

But before discussing the results or the methods used to arrive at them, some background about the critical questions is necessary.

Television, like any new innovative technology, has its share of both admirers and detractors. There are those who welcome its introduction into a community and see its presence as a channel to provide viewers with role-models, and to be a general source of information about "real life". They believe that television will educate the people and help change them towards a better life. Those who resist television view it as a channel of evil that influences its viewers to become "lazy" or "violent". They believe that television will erode the basic values and the culture of people and will work against family and community solidarity.

Research to resolve this interesting question of whether television is 'good' or 'evil' began as soon as television was first made available to the general public almost thirty years ago. It has generated a vast body of scientific findings which is still growing. But the results of research are scattered in the books, articles, reports and documents of various disciplines, fields of study, and archives of government and other funding agencies so that, until recently, those wishing access to what has been discovered realized that most research was inaccessible to them when needed. These persons also learnt to appreciate the problem of other scholars who complained that although the volume of research on the effects of television was vast, most scholars found themselves to be working "in a state of information deprivation". What was urgently needed was not only a comprehensive stocktaking of existing research but an evaluation of the findings and an identification of future research priorities.

George Comstock and the team of scholars he co-opted undertook and completed this needed task of locating, retrieving and evaluating television research and entitled their work Television and Human Behaviour. The last section of the fourth and summative volume (1978) reassures those in the field, as well as those contemplating entering this area, that the major question regarding the impact of television has not yet been fully answered as no definite trend regarding the effects of television on a community have been firmly established. This conclusion serves as an encouragement to researchers to go on with their research to seek the answer to the question of the effects of television. Most research undertaken has been based on populations living in urban or near urban communities in the main stream of society and the results obtained may not be applicable to those communities/ societies that are not urban or in the main stream of society.

There are few studies that have focused on the effects of television on non-urban 'Native' or 'Indigenous' people in a technologically developed society. This lack of information makes the pilot project undertaken in 1973 by social scientists in Manitoba (Hamer, Steinbring, Granzberg and others) more significant. They proposed a study that would collect data to determine the impact of telecommunications on isolated not-technologically advanced Northern Cree communities in Canada and unlike one shot research undertakings their project was designed to gather information prior to and at regular intervals after television was introduced to the people of the area. Such longitudinal and time series undertakings would enable the research team to monitor the communities and the changes occurring in them across time. The analysis of the first phase of data collection of this study (i.e. 1972-73 period) has already been published (Hamer 1974). What is reported here is a continuation of that project reporting on the second and third phases of the research. To enable one to compare the findings of the second and third phase with that of the first phase, the data will be arranged according to the design used in 1973. This will give the project continuity. Then other analytical techniques will be used to evaluate the data further.

Data Source and Data Gathering Techniques

Data presented here were gathered by trained interviewers who were part of the communities that were being studied. They administered the questionnaire "How Leisure Time is Spent" (attached Appendix 1) to junior high school Cree students in school years 1972-73, 1975-76 and 1978-79. The time lag of three years was chosen because it permitted the sample population cohort to change, so that, at each time the questionnaire was administered, the sample was not the same, except in age, grade level and level of development. This enables one to compare the data at three time periods and across the two communities. This design was selected because it was neither feasible nor wise to reinterview those respondents who were part of the 1973 study, since in these remote communities, at that time, students who had gone beyond junior high grades, were either sent to schools in other communities or in the 'Big' city for their secondary schooling or they joined the work force. The students who continued their schooling were required to live near their schools and were exposed to different social experiences, depending on where they lived and with whom and for how long. These factors are bound to influence their perception of reality and so they cannot be regarded as a homogenous population having a similar social background. The time-series research design enabled one to study a less contaminated population, giving the researchers more control of the elements. The respondents are junior high students, from the same communities, in the same social environment, at the same level of social maturity and development as the previous sample and of the same age grouping. The time lapse of three years, between each data collection period, although too brief to authoritatively measure change or the irrevocability of a changing trend, is nevertheless long enough to permit a comparison of responses to selected items on the interview schedule which could indicate the changing trend. The most significant variable is the introduction of television since at Test Time 1 both communities were without television, at Test Time 2 one community had received television, the other was still without it, at Test Time III both had received television, one had been exposed to it for four years, the other for one year. The questions to be resolved are 'did the two communities differ in how leisure time is spent before and after television was introduced? Are there differences in how they have responded to television? If so, to what may we attribute these different patterns of response? These are the critical questions that the study will attempt to answer.

Methodology

The assumption on which the study is based is that individuals with different orientations to social reality respond differently to social situations. In most communities the two dominant orientations are of the so-called "traditional" and the non-traditional orientation. If a community is dominated by either of the two orientations, it will be that dominant group which would determine how television affects their community. To the traditionalists, television will be looked upon as an intrusion, an evil force; to the non-traditionalists, television will be viewed as a savior. So the first task is to identify those with so-called traditional characteristics and those with non-traditional ones. Based on the literature on change and development, items that would enable the researcher to identify the traditional/non-traditional respondents were included as questions in the interview schedule and were then organized around four main concepts, namely (i) family integration/cohesiveness, (ii) modernity (iii) media exposure (iv) religious practices. The individual responses would determine whether the respondents were traditional/non-traditional. We recognize the fact that individuals may be traditional in some responses and not in others so the sum of the responses would enable one to identify the traditional and non-traditional syndrome which we expect is a factor which determines reactions to variables like television.

Since each concept consisted of a number of items culled from the literature, let us exame the concepts and the items that comprise them.

(1) Family integration/cohesiveness.

In traditional type settings, family members are more integrated and so generally tend to do things together both in and out of the home. In traditional type settings the size of the family is large, with individuals having more than one sibling. Parental authority is greater, while the level of education is low and the types of occupation is limited. The non-traditional type setting has the reverse of these characteristics. The specific questions asked to determine whether the respondents came from traditional or non-traditional family settings were

Question 52. How many evenings per month do you and your family do something (socially) at home together?

(1) One
(2) Two
(3) Three
(4) Four
(5) Five
(6) Six
(7) Seven
(8) Eight, and

Question 53. How many evenings per month do your parents take you out shopping, to a movie, to visit friends/relatives?

High family integration/cohesiveness was assumed in responses which said that the family activities were engaged in more than three times a month and were scored as traditional responses.

Respondents who indicated few (i.e. one or two) activities together with family, were categorized as non-traditional and their responses were scored on the non-traditional side.

A second indicator of the same traditional/non-traditional syndrome was the degree of parental responsibility for behavior operationalized by whether respondents were free or not to choose the type of (radio) program they desired. The more traditional, the less the freedom of choice and vice-versa.

The specific question regarding this aspect of the concept was

Question 6. Are you free to choose the type of program you want to listen to?

(1) Yes

(2) No

A 'no' response was seen as indicating a traditional setting, a 'yes' response indicative of a non-traditional one.

The third variable was family size since in traditional type families the size is large and vice versa. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of siblings they had in their family with the simple question which was phrased thus:

Question 72. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

(1) One
(2) Two
(3) Three
(4) Four
(5) Five
(6) Six
(7) Seven
(8) Eight or more

Respondents indicating more than two siblings were classified as belonging to a family of traditional size while those with less than this number were viewed as coming from a non-traditional family setting.

Other indicators of a traditional family type were father's education level and father's occupation. In these communities the most prevelant occupations available to male members of the community were hunting, trapping and fishing, occupations that do not generally require many years of formal education. To determine the level of formal education attained by the father, the question asked was

Question 74. What was the highest grade of schooling completed by your father?

(1) Grade 0-3
(2) Grade 4-6
(3) Grade 7
(4) Some Senior
(5) High School
(6) Some technical/trade
(7) Technical/trade
(8) Some University
(9) University

Those who indicated that the highest grade completed by their father was up to grade 3 were coded as coming from traditional homes while those whose fathers had a higher level of formal education were non-traditional.

The occupation of the father was determined by

Question 76. "What type of work does your father do for a living?

(1) Labourer
(2) Skilled manual
(3) Clerical
(4) Fishing, hunting, trapping
(5) professional
(6) other
(7) non-working

Traditional occupations in these communities were hunting, fishing and trapping. If these responses were given they were coded as being traditional. Other responses were classified as non-traditional. These items are highly correlated and would indicate the degree and percentage of traditional-non-traditional respondents who who come from cohesive and non-cohesive family settings.

(2) Modernity

The second concept used was the degree of modernity found among the respondents. Modernity was operationalized through questions which attempted to determine the respondent's attitude towards education, occupation in terms of themselves, their best friends, and people in general. The specific questions were

Question 5 How much education do you think a person should have?

Question 59 How much education does your best friend think he/she should have?

Question 56 How much education do you think you should have?

Question 54 How do you evaluate the quality of education you are receiving?

Question 57 What type of job do you want to do for a living?

It was assumed that respondents who selected a low level of formal education for people, their friends, themselves and did not value the education or who aspired for occupations that were trapping, fishing and hunting would be seen as less modern than those who selected high levels of education and occupation. The sum total of these responses and the percentage of respondents who were more or less modern would be found through analysis of these responses.

(3) Media Exposure

The third concept, exposure to mass media information was again culled from studies by Lerner (1956) and Rodgers and Shoemaker (1971) who found that respondents with the traditional orientation were less exposed to mass-media information than the non-traditional persons.

To determine the extent of mass media exposure, the specific questions asked were

Question 3 How many hours per week do you listen to radio broadcasts?

Question 85 How many hours of TV do you watch?

It was expected that those with the traditional orientation would check items showing low exposure to mass media while the non-traditionals would have a higher exposure to these mass media influences.

(4) Religious Activities

Finally, an attempt was made to determine whether respondents were affiliated with any Christian church and the extent of their association with it was determined by these questions.

Question 60 Which church do you belong to?

(1) None
(2) United
(3) Methodist
(4) Roman Catholic
(5) Pentecostal
(6) Anglican
(7) Other (Specify)

Question 61 How often do you attend church services?

(1) Never
(2) Less than once a week
(3) Once a week
(4) More than once a week
(5) Not applicable

The expectation was that the traditional respondents being Cree Indians would not have as high an involvement with organized Western religion as the non-traditional respondents would have, so a high score in both items would indicate greater religious involvement (of the Western type) than those who stated they were not affiliated or involved with these religious groups.

These four concepts — Family cohesiveness, Modernity, Mass Media influence and Religous activities were combined to form an assessment of traditional characterics scale whose index would be

$$\text{T.C. Scale Index} = \frac{\text{Number of Traditional Practices}}{\text{Total Number of Practices}}$$

Other Variables

Background data in terms of age, sex, grade, and ethnic label and language spoken in the home were also obtained to complete the data required for the study.

Background Characteristics of Respondents

(1) Age

As seen from Table 1 the age distribution of the sample in Community A is between thirteen and sixteen years, with the highest concentration in the younger age categories. This is constant in all three time periods, and points to the fact that as students reach the age at which they can legally leave school the number in attendance diminishes. The majority of the respondents in the sample fall between the thirteen and fifteen year age grouping. In Community B a similar distribution is observed with a similar larger cluster in the thirteen year grouping and a diminishing number of responses among the sixteen year olds. In both communities in 1978 few sixteen year olds were included in the sample because most were in grade 10 which is senior high grade, generally, not included in the sample.

INSERT TABLE I ABOUT HERE

----

(2) Grade and Sex Distribution of Respondents

The sample population of this study consisted of students in grades eight and nine of junior high school. The largest cluster was found in the lower grades with one exception seen in Community A in 1975 where the sample cluster shifted from the grade eight to grade nine. Regarding the sex distribution, there were more females than males in the sample in both communities in the first two data collecting periods and more males than females in the third data collecting period. But the differences do not warrant dividing the sample into further segments according to these clusters since no significant differences in responses were found when these variables are controlled during the analysis.

INSERT TABLE 2 AND TABLE 3

For the purpose of this study the sample population consists of junior high school students almost equally represented by both sexes aged thirteen, fourteen and fifteen years.

(3) Ethnic Category of Sample

The question to determine the ethnic category of respondents was

Question 68 What is your ethnic background?

Most respondents identified themselves as being Cree in ethnic background. In Community A in 1973 almost 91% of respondents claimed Cree identity. This decreased to 77% in 1975 but increased again to 86% in 1979. The Metis are the second largest group in this area withsix percent being present in 1973, eleven percent in 1975 and fourteen percent in 1978. A third category, Euro-Canadians, were four percent in 1973, three percent in 1975, and not present in the sample in 1978. In Community B, the Cree category was also dominant representing 98% of the total sample in 1973, 86% in 1975 and 94% in 1978. Euro-Canadian respondents were the second largest grouping consisting of 2% in 1973, five percent in 1975 and two percent in 1978. This distribution closely resembles the distribution of persons in both the communities (Granzberg and Hanks -- personal communication).

TABLE IV ABOUT HERE

Language spoken at Home

It has been observed that though an individual may read in a specific language or write in or speak a specific language in public, this is not a guarantee that this language is spoken by them in the home. This latter language is a useful indicator of the existence of ethnicity since the language spoken among intimates is the medium a person is generally most comfortable with since it is used in a primary group environment. Respondents in the study were asked what language they normally spoke at home. The results are interesting for a number of reasons. In Community A in 1973, 78% of the respondents claimed to speak Cree at home. In 1975, this percentage dropped slightly to 74% while in 1978, it dropped further to 50% of respondents. During the three time periods there was an increasing percentage of respondents who stated they spoke English at home. In 1973 only 13% spoke English at home, in 1975 it was 21% and in 1978 the figure was 42%. A similar but more pronounced shift in language spoken at home was found in Community B where in 1973, 93% spoke Cree in the home, in 1975 this dropped to 86% and in 1978 a further drop to 71% of the sample . English usage in the home increased in proportion so that while in 1973 only 7% of respondents spoke English at home, this increased to 8% in 1975 and to 29% in 1978.

TABLE V ABOUT HERE

The importance of this distribution becomes more apparent if one views Table IV and V together since the percentages in the tables enables one to examine respondents who claim to be Cree and the language they speak at home. In Community A in 1973, 91% are Cree and 79% spoke Cree in the home, in the 1975 sample 77% are Cree and 74% spoke Cree in the home while in 1978 there are 86% who are Cree and fifty percent spoke Cree in the home. The difference of 4% and 3% in 1973 and 1975 appears to be a normal fluctuation but in 1978 the change represents a shift of 36% of responses. If the sample is representative and we have no reason to doubt that it is not, then something occurred to encourage the use of English. It was in 1977 that television was introduced and we speculate that it contributed to the popularity of English usage in the home. This hunch can be applied to Community B where in 1973, 98% were Cree by background and 93% spoke Cree in the home, in 1975 Cree members represented 86% of the population sample and a similar percentage(86%)spoke Cree at home. In 1978 when 94% of the sample were Cree by background only 71% spoke Cree in the home. Of the respondents in Community B in 1973, 5% did not speak Cree at home, while in 1978 a little over 21% of Cree respondents did not speak Cree at home. Many reasons are possible for this shift in language used at home among them are the growing familiarity with English to which students are exposed in school and the market place. The placing of televisions in the home appears to have sparked a significant surge in the use of the 'out-group' language in the home, due to the fact that programs of drama and action on the television screen provided a further basis for conversation. When no television was available in the communities the difference between individuals who claimed to be Cree in ethnic origin and the percentage of them who did not speak Cree in the home was five percent. After the introduction of television, the percentage of Cree students who stated they did not speak Cree in the home increased in Community A to 36% and in Community

B to 21% of the sample. While the shift in language at home has been greater in Community B than in Community A, one reason for this could be the fact that Community B, demographically, is over 95% Cree in ethnic composition. The outside group's language used in the home, was not seen as the start of the erosion of Cree identity or of a betrayal of one's group. In Community A, on the other hand, the Cree population consisted of less than 80% of the sample, so the Cree may have switched to the use of English in the home with less enthusiasm than students in Community B. In both instances, the availability of television appears to encourage the language used in the television programs. It appears to be a presence in the home that is affecting the choice of language used in primary group settings, because of the language of the programs presented to viewers. Let us now try to determine whether the communities are traditional or non-traditional in orientation based on the frequency of the responses to items that make up the four analytical concepts of family cohesiveness, modernity, media frequency and religious practices.

Family Cohesiveness

In Community A in 1973 the respondents appear to follow the more traditional practice of taking part, with their parents, in activities in the home as 45% of respondents stated that they were involved in these practices. In 1978, however, a change in orientation is observed in that only 31% of respondents appear to continue with this practice. More respondents (60%) stated that they did not take part with their parents in activities in the home so that one may conclude that the responses to this item warrants the conclusion that in 1978 Community A is non-traditional in family cohesiveness. In Community B in 1973, the respondents appear to be more non-traditional in that 51% indicated this practice and in 1978 further increase to 58% is found. Data for the intervening period is missing but by 1978 both communities were non-traditional in this aspect of family integration.

TABLE VI ABOUT HERE

Regarding the next item which was the activities outside the home in 1973 in Community A and Community B 27% and 12.7% indicated that they often do something together with their parents outside the home. In 1978 there was a decrease in Community A in the percentage of responses indicating they did things together as a family outside the home. This community was non-traditional in this practice. In Community B which was non-traditional in 1973 in that 67% of respondents stated they did not do things with the family outside the home, this figure dropped 20% in 1978 so that in that year the sample could be called more traditional than non-traditional in doing activities outside the home. In this item Community A is non-traditional while Community B is just barely more (1%) traditional.

TABLE VII ABOUT HERE

The next item regarding family cohesiveness was the extent to which student respondents had the freedom to choose the type of program they desired. The more traditional practice is not to have this choice. In 1973 both communities were non-traditional and this orientation was prevelant in the subsequent surveys indicating that students listened to programs they chose rather than those chosen by their parents.

The size of a family unit was examined to determine which respondents were from large families and which respondents were from families that were small in size. In both communities, in all the data collection periods 1973, 1975 and 1978 a larger percentage of respondents indicated they were from large family units and in this item, they followed traditional practices.

TABLE VIII ABOUT HERE

Father's Education

There appears to be a change in the percentage distribution regarding the education of the respondent's father in that in 1973 in Community A 34% had not received more than a grade 3 formal education, an indication of a traditional practice. In 1975 the frequency distribution of respondents decreased to 13% and in 1978 decreased to 5%. In community B a similar pattern indicating a decreasing percentage of fathers with only grade 3 education was found in the student's responses.

TABLE IX ABOUT HERE

Father's Occupation

Regarding occupation of father, respondents in Community A in 1973 stated that 36% were in traditional occupations (i.e. trapping, hunting and trading)while 40% had jobs other than the traditional jobs. In this community the percentage of fathers in traditional occupations decreased to 19% in 1975 and 14% in 1978 of the sample. One reason for this is the possibility of traditional occupations disappearing thus requiring individuals to enter non-traditional occupations.

TABLE X ABOUT HERE

In all three time periods, more fathers of respondents in Community A are in non-traditional occupations, the percentage increasing from 40% in 1973 to 75% in 1978. In Community B in 1973 only 32% of respondent's fathers were in non-traditional jobs. This percentage increased to 52% in 1975 and to 56% in 1978 with corresponding decreases in traditional occupations. These changes could mean that traditional occupations were being eliminated because of overtrapping and hunting in these areas in both communities.

In summary, the data on family cohesiveness reveals that apart from family size, in which both communities are of the traditional size, these two remote Northern communities are non-traditional according to the items selected to constitute the concept of family cohesiveness.

Modernity

Modernity is a syndrome found in individuals whose views have been transformed so that their attitudes show that individuals have a measure of belief in formal education, in science and technology. Respondents were asked how much education they thought a person should have? In Community A in 1973, almost 42% of the respondents had stated that an education level beyond that which was traditionally obtained was the amount of education people should receive. This percentage distribution increased to 100% in the subsequent data-collection periods. In Community B there is less faith in level of formal education in that in 1973, 45% of respondents were of the opinion that higher levels of education were desirable. In 1975 this percentage increased to 86% and in the 1978 period it increased to 90%. In this community the percentage of persons believing that higher education levels were not necessary decreased from 21% in 1973 to 4% in 1975 to 2% in 1978. These response distributions indicate that while both communities are 'modern' regarding their faith in education, they appeared to become more modern as the decade came to an end.

TABLE XI ABOUT HERE

The same attitude was found to exist regarding responses to the question about their educational aspirations. In Community A in 1973, about sixty three percent of the respondents indicated higher than traditional educational aspiration levels. In the 1975 and 1978 data all respondents (i.e. 100%) showed hope for higher levels of educational attainment. In Community B, where in 1973 about fifty four percent of respondents indicated non-traditional responses to educational aspirations, this percentage increased to 88% in 1975 and 94% in 1978. The difference in the two communities is that in Community B in the two latter surveys, there were still 2% of the sample that had traditional educational aspirations whereas none of the respondents in Community A expressed such opinions during these periods.

TABLE XII ABOUT HERE

Job aspirations

While all respondents in Community A had non-traditional educational aspirations, not all had non-traditional job aspirations for 19% in 1973 indicated that they aspired to jobs as hunters, trappers or fishermen. In 1975, this figure dropped to 13% and to 8% in 1978, so while the number did decrease, it was not at a rate similar to those desiring a non-traditional education. In Community B an interesting alteration in the trend appears to have occurred, based on replies to the question of job aspirations. In 1973 there were 13% who aspired for a traditional type of job life style. In 1975, this percentage dropped by one, but in 1978 it increased by seventeen percent to 28%. There appears to be a revival of interest or desire in pursuing jobs

---

TABLE XIII ABOUT HERE

---

similar to that with which these Cree are generally associated. This seems strange because almost none of the respondents perceive the quality of formal education as being poor. So while the dominant responses show non-traditional practices and an attachment to so called modernity attitudes, there is an increase in the aspiration to pursue traditional jobs in Community B, which is the more homogenous community.

Mass Media

Let us now turn to the question regarding mass media exposure. In 1973 in Community A only 9% did not frequently (less than three hours per day) listen to the radio. This percentage increased in 1975 to 17% who were non-radio program listeners but it decreased to three percent in 1978. In the same time span and the same community where in 1973, only 24% listened often to the radio, the percentage increased to 83% in 1975 and to 97% in 1978. In other words while one fourth of the sample were non traditional in their radio listening practice in 1973, this percentage increased to 97% in 1978.

TABLE XIV ABOUT HERE

In Community B, the number of persons who spent time listening to the radio increased from 12% in 1973 to 88% in 1975. This percentage dropped by 15 points in 1978 indicating that compared to the sample in 1975, there were more respondents (27%) who did not listen to radio programs in 1978 than in 1975 (12%). Again both communities are non-traditional in radio listening practices but Community A is more non-traditional than Community B as they have a larger percentage who stated they listened to more than three hours of radio per day. While hours of listening to the radio increased as the communities edged their way towards the 1980s, the hours spent watching movies decreased in both communities and again the availability of television programs seem to account for the decrease in movie goers.

Religious Practices

The last concept has to do with whether the respondents are affiliated with any Christian church, and whether they take part in the activities provided by the church. Those who said 'yes' to both queries were regarded as non-traditional. In Community A, in 1973 all respondents in the sample stated they were members of a Christian church. In 1975 in the same community about three fourths of the sample stated they were members of a Christian church. This percentage increased to about nine tenths of the respondents in 1978. In Community B, nine tenths of the respondents stated they were members of a Christian church.

TABLE XV ABOUT HERE

While the distribution of response percentages was similar in the two earlier data collecting periods (i.e. 94%), it decreased to ninety percent in 1978, so that we may conclude, in terms of religious identification, that the largest majority representing over 90% of the sample identified with a Christian church. In Community B which in 1973 showed that five percent were not affiliated with a Christian religion, this percentage showed a five percent increase in 1978. While there was a larger percentage of respondents in Community B than in Community A, the difference was not more than 10% in any data collecting period.

Regarding attendance at church services, in Community A in 1973, fifteen percent of respondents stated they did not take part in any church service. This number increased to thirty six percent in 1975 and to forty six percent in 1978. In Community B in 1973 fifteen per cent of respondents indicated they did not attend church services.

TABLE XVI ABOUT HERE

In 1975 the number decreased by half but in 1978 it again increased to represent nineteen percent of the sample who did not attend church services. The last question regarding religious practices was whether respondents took part in church activities. In Community A in 1973, forty three percent of the respondents indicated they did not participate in church organized activities. This percentage increased to fifty one percent in 1975 and to fifty three percent in 1978. In Community B in 1973 fifty four percent did not participate in church organized activities but this figure decreased to thirty seven percent in 1975 and to twenty nine percent in 1978. Thus while Community A respondents appear to be less involved with church organized activities in each successive data collecting period,

TABLE XVII ABOUT HERE

Community B respondents appear to have become more involved with church organized activities. In this item Community A has a greater percentage of respondents who are traditional in their participation in church activities. In Community B there is a greater percentage of responses that indicate a non-traditional activity which is more involvement in church organized activities.

From the data examined up to this point we can make a number of observations.

Firstly, regarding the concepts of family integration/cohesiveness, modernity, mass media influence and religious activities, the responses of the samples in both communities in each of the three time periods indicate that except for a few items, most of the respondents are non-traditional in orientation, i.e. they believe and behave as individuals with the non-traditional syndrome are expected to behave. The majority do not engage in activities together with their parents in or out of the home, they aspire to educational and job levels that are higher than those normally aspired to by individuals who possess the traditional orientation and they have the freedom to choose the type of radio program they wish to listen to. The greater majority are affiliated with a Christian church and while respondents in Community A are less active in church organized activities there appears to be an increase in the involvement in church activities in Community B. Both communities are traditional in one aspect as respondents in both areas in all three data collecting periods indicated that they were part of families that had more than two siblings. Regarding family size both communities were traditional. But this factor does not appear to have influenced either parental control or aspirations of the respondents or religious practices in any significant manner.

Assuming the correctness of these observations we can now look at one other important factor, language spoken in the home. While we may expect respondents who identified themselves as Cree Indians to speak Cree in the privacy of their home, the frequency of response distribution indicates that with each subsequent research period, a change in language spoken in the home is evident, with the shift being more than ten percent greater after television was introduced into the communities. Television appears to have generated greater usage of the English language in the home and a corresponding erosion of the Native Cree language among family members.

TABLE I

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70) 1973	(N=99) 1975	(N=36) 1978	(N=58) 1973	(N=73) 1975	(N=72) 1978
13 years or under	50.0	34.3	47.2	43.1	42.5	55.9
14 years	21.4	29.3	33.3	29.3	21.9	25.0
15 years	19.3	24.2	13.9	17.2	9.6	13.5
16 years	19.3	9.1	5.6	10.3	20.5	1.9

TABLE II

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70) 1973	(N=99) 1975	(N=36) 1978	(N=58) 1973	(N=73) 1975	(N=72) 1978
Grade 8	62.3	18.2	63.9	53.4	63.0	67.3
Grade 9	37.7	43.4	36.1	19.0	16.4	30.8
Grade 10	-	35.4	-	27.6	20.5	-

TABLE III

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Male	40.6	34.3	58.3	46.4	35.6	59.6
Female	59.4	63.6	41.7	53.6	61.6	36.5

TABLE IV

ETHNIC LABEL OF RESPONDENTS IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Cree	90.7	76.8	86.1	98.2	86.3	94.2
Metis	5.6	11.1	13.9	-	1.4	-
Euro Canadian and Others	3.7	3.0	-	1.8	5.5	1.9

TABLE V

LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BY RESPONDENTS IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Cree	78.6	73.7	50.0	93.1	86.3	71.2
English	12.9	21.2	41.7	6.9	8.2	28.8
Other	-	-	8.3	-	1.4	-

TABLE VI

IN HOME FAMILY INVOLVEMENT OF RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70) 1973	(N=99) 1975	(N=36) 1978	(N=58) 1973	(N=73) 1975	(N=72) 1978
Traditional	45.0	n.a.	30.6	12.3	n.a.	23.1
Non-Traditional	23.3	n.a.	63.0	50.8	n.a.	58.0

TABLE VII

OUT OF HOME FAMILY INVOLVEMENT OF RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	27.2	n/a	22.2	12.7	n/a	44.2
Non-Traditional	4.5	n/a	72.2	66.7	n/a	43.0

TABLE VIII

FAMILY SIZE OF RESPONDENTS IN SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	72.4	94.9	86.1	62.8	86.3	88.5
Non-Traditional	2.9	5.1	13.9	5.2	13.7	11.5

TABLE IX

FATHER'S EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	34.0	13.1	5.6	60.9	30.1	26.9
Non Traditional	8.5	60.5	77.8	2.2	40.0	40.5

TABLE X

FATHER'S OCCUPATION IN LEISURE SAMPLE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70) 1973	(N=99) 1975	(N=36) 1978	(N=58) 1973	(N=73) 1975	(N=72) 1978
Traditional	36.3	19.2	14.0	51.8	33.0	38.5
Non Traditional	40.4	67.0	76.0	32.1	52.0	55.8

TABLE XI

OPINION REGARDING HOW MUCH EDUCATION PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	7.5	1.1	00.0	21.4	4.1	2.1
Non Traditional	41.8	98.9	100.0	44.7	86.3	90.4

TABLE XII

OPINION REGARDING YOUR EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION OF RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	4.6	00.0	00.0	7.0	2.7	1.9
Non Traditional	63.1	100.00	100.00	54.4	87.6	94.2

TABLE XIII

JOB ASPIRATIONS OF RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	18.8	13.0	8.0	12.7	12.3	28.8
Non Traditional	78.1	86.9	92.0	80.0	82.2	71.2

TABLE XIV

HOURS OF RADIO LISTENED TO BY RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70) 1973	(N=99) 1975	(N=36) 1978	(N=58) 1973	(N=73) 1975	(N=72) 1978
Traditional	9.1	17.2	2.8	17.5	12.3	26.9
Non Traditional	24.2	82.8	97.2	13.3	87.7	73.1

TABLE XV

CHURCH AFFILIATION OF RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70) 1973	(N=99) 1975	(N=36) 1978	(N=58) 1973	(N=73) 1975	(N=72) 1978
Traditional	-	9.1	-	5.1	2.7	9.6
Non Traditional	100.00	76.8	88.9	94.9	93.2	90.4

TABLE XVI

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF RESPONDENTS

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	14.7	36.4	45.7	15.5	8.2	19.2
Non Traditional	11.8	60.6	52.8	15.5	86.3	80.7

TABLE XVII

PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES

	COMMUNITY A - NORWAY HOUSE			COMMUNITY B - OXFORD HOUSE		
	(N=70)1973	(N=99)1975	(N=36)1978	(N=58)1973	(N=73)1975	(N=72)1978
Traditional	43.5	51.5	52.8	53.6	37.0	28.8
Non Traditional	29.1	48.5	47.2	28.6	63.0	71.2

References

Comstock, George A. 1978 — *Television and Human Behavior*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Hamer, John, J. Steinbring et al. 1974 — *Preliminary Report on the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North: A Comparative Study*. Winnipeg: Univ. of Winnipeg.

Lerner, Daniel 1958 — *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Rogers, Everett and F. Floyd Shoemaker 1971 — *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach, 2nd ed.* New York: Free Press.

APPENDIX

Leisure Survey Questionnaire

Confidential

HOW TO SPEND LEISURE SURVEY

Name of respondent __________________________

The purpose of this survey is to provide information on how people spend their free time in this community, important for assessing communication needs of Northern communities.

We would appreciate your answering ALL of the following questions to the best of your ability. Of course, the information you give us will be treated as STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Please select an appropriate answer to each of the following questions by making a check mark (v).
2. The success of the survey depends upon the accuracy of your answers. Please strive for accuracy and complete EVERY APPLICABLE ITEM. If you cannot find an appropriate response please write your answer in the space provided.

RADIO

1. Do you have a radio in your home?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

2. If no, specify where you can use one:

( ) 1. In my friend's home
( ) 2. In my relative's home
( ) 3. Other (specify) ____________

3. How many hours per week do you listen to radio broadcasts?

( ) 1. 0
( ) 2. 1 - 10
( ) 3. 11 - 20
( ) 4. 21 - 30
( ) 5. 31 or over

4. What type of programs do you listen to on the radio?

( ) 1. News
( ) 2. Weather
( ) 3. Sports
( ) 4. Music
( ) 6. Political views
( ) 7. Church service
( ) 8. Cree programs
( ) 9. Children's programs

5. What bradcasting station(s) do you often listen to?

( ) 1. Cross Lake
( ) 2. CKDM (Dauphin)
( ) 3. CKY (Winnipeg)
( ) 4. CHTM (Thompson)
( ) 5. Other (specify) ____________

6. Are you free to choose the type of programs you want to listen to?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

7. If you are not free to select radio programs, who makes the decision?

( ) 1. My parents
( ) 2. Mutual agreement among family members
( ) 3. Other (specify)____________

8. How do you use your radio?

( ) 1. Leave it on all the time and listen to any program
( ) 2. Listen only to the programs I like
( ) 3. Listen to programs selected by my parents
( ) 4. Other (specify____________

9. Why do you listen to the radio?

( ) 1. For entertainment
( ) 2. For information
( ) 3. For both entertainment and information
( ) 4. For filling in leisure time
( ) 5. Other (specify)____________

10. What radio programs would you like to listen to that are not presently available, if any?

( ) 1. News
( ) 2. Weather
( ) 3. Sports
( ) 4. Music
( ) 5. Talk shows
( ) 6. Political views
( ) 7. Cree programs
( ) 8. Children's programs
( ) 9. Other (specify)____________

11. If you do not listen to radio broadcasts at all, could you give me your reasons?

( ) 1. No access to a radio
( ) 2. No freedom to select my favorite programs
( ) 3. Don't understand the language broadcasted
( ) 4. Don't like radio broadcasts
( ) 5. Not interested in the available programs
( ) 6. Other (specify)

TELEPHONE

12. Have you the use of a telephone?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

13. Is it a party-line?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

14. If yes, how often do you use it?

( ) 1. Every day
( ) 2. Twice a week
( ) 3. Once a week
( ) 4. Every two weeks
( ) 5. Once a month
( ) 6. For emergency only
( ) 7. Other (specify)

15. Why do you use a telephone?

( ) 1. To talk with friends for pleasure
( ) 2. To overhear other person's private affairs
( ) 3. To call for a taxi
( ) 4. To make appointments with friends for social functions
( ) 5. To make emergency calls
( ) 6. Other (specify)________________

16. How do you like a party-line telephone?

( ) 1. Very much
( ) 2. Somewhat
( ) 3. Not very much
( ) 4. Not at all

17. If you like a party-line, tell me your reasons

( ) 1. It is cheaper than a private line
( ) 2. I can overhear other person's private affairs
( ) 3. Other (specify)________________

18. If you don't like a party-line telephone, why is it?

( ) 1. No privacy
( ) 2. Inconvenient especially in case of emergency
( ) 3. Other (specify)__________________

19. Do you like to have a private-line telephone?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

20. If you don't use a radio-telephone, why not?

( ) 1. Too expensive
( ) 2. No access to one
( ) 3. No reason to use one
( ) 4. Other (specify)______________

NEWSPAPER

21. Do you read newspapers?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

22. If yes, what newspaper do you read?

( ) 1. Free Press
( ) 2. Tribune
( ) 3. Globe and Mail
( ) 4. Other (specify)__________

23. If yes, what topics do you read?

( ) 1. Local news
( ) 2. Outside news
( ) 3. Editorials
( ) 4. Sports
( ) 5. Comics
( ) 6. Woman's page
( ) 7. Advertisements
( ) 8. Other (specify)___________

24. If no, why not?

( ) 1. Too expensive
( ) 2. Too difficult to understand
( ) 3. Not interested
( ) 4. Not available in news-stand
( ) 5. Other (specify)__________

25. Do you read comics?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

26. If yes, why?

( ) 1. Easy to read and understand
( ) 2. Interesting
( ) 3. Cheap
( ) 4. Available at home
( ) 5. Parents encourage to read
( ) 6. Other (specify)__________

27. If no, why not?

( ) 1. Not educational
( ) 2. Too much violence
( ) 3. Not interested
( ) 4. Too expensive
( ) 5. Parents don't allow to read
( ) 6. Other (specify)__________

MAGAZINE

28. Do you read any magazines?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

29. If yes, what types?

( ) 1. Hockey and sports
( ) 2. Fiction
( ) 3. Newsmagazines (e.g., Time, Newsweek)
( ) 4. Pin-up magazines (Playboy)
( ) 5. Detective stories
( ) 6. Romance magazines (e.g., My Romance, True Love)
( ) 7. Technical magazines (e.g., Popular Mechanic)
( ) 8. Other (specify)__________

30. If no, why not?

( ) 1. Too expensive
( ) 2. Too difficult to understand
( ) 3. Not interested
( ) 4. Not available at home
( ) 5. Other (specify)__________

LOCAL AND OUTSIDE NEWS

31. How do you receive most local news?

( ) 1. Word of mouth
( ) 2. Overheard from radio-telephone
( ) 3. Radio
( ) 4. Watch and listen to people at the Bay Store
( ) 5. Public meetings
( ) 6. Other (specify)__________

32. How do you know what is going on outside your community?

( ) 1. Word of mouth
( ) 2. Teacher
( ) 3. People coming to town
( ) 4. Radio
( ) 5. Radio-telephone
( ) 6. Newspaper
( ) 7. Magazine
( ) 8. Other (specify)________________

MOVIES

33. How often are movies shown in your community?

( ) 1. Every day
( ) 2. Twice a week
( ) 3. Once a week
( ) 4. Every two weeks
( ) 5. Once a month
( ) 6. Other (specify)____________

34. How often do you go to see these movies?

( ) 1. Never
( ) 2. Rarely
( ) 3. Occasionally
( ) 4. Fairly often
( ) 5. Frequently

35. What types of movies do you like?

( ) 1. Cowboy or Western
( ) 2. Cartoons
( ) 3. Sex
( ) 4. Violence
( ) 5. Travelogues
( ) 6. Documentaries
( ) 7. Comedy
( ) 8. Tragedy
( ) 9. Other (specify)___________

36. If never, why not?

( ) 1. Too expensive
( ) 2. Too difficult to understand
( ) 3. Not interested
( ) 4. Parents don't allow me to go
( ) 5. Not educational
( ) 6. Too much sex
( ) 7. Too much violence
( ) 8. Other (specify)____________

VIDEO TAPE

37. Have you ever seen shows on video-tape?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

38. If yes, how do you like the shows?

( ) 1. Very much
( ) 2. Somewhat
( ) 3. Not very much
( ) 4. Not at all

39. If no, why not?

( ) 1. No access
( ) 2. Not interested
( ) 3. Other (specify)____________

TELEVISION

40. Have you ever watched television?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

41. If yes, where did you watch it?

( ) 1. Winnipeg
( ) 2. Other (specify)

42. Do you want to have television in your community?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No

43. If yes, why do you like watching television?

( ) 1. For entertainment
( ) 2. For information
( ) 3. For educational purposes
( ) 4. For passing time
( ) 5. Other (specify)____________

44. If yes, what kind of shows would you watch?

( ) 1. News
( ) 2. Weather
( ) 3. Sports
( ) 4. Talk shows
( ) 5. Cartoons
( ) 6. Cree Programs
( ) 7. Music
( ) 8. Drama
( ) 9. Educational
( ) 10. Other (specify)____________

45. If yes, would you like programs to be in

( ) 1. English
( ) 2. Cree
( ) 3. French
( ) 4. Partly English and partly Cree
( ) 5. Partly French and partly Cree
( ) 6. Other (specify)____________

46. If you have never watched television, why not?

( ) 1. Too expensive
( ) 2. Too difficult to understand the shows
( ) 3. Not interested
( ) 4. Too much violence and crime
( ) 5. Other (specify)____________

47. What do you think are the advantages of having television facility in your community?

( ) 1. It educates the young
( ) 2. It is a source of entertainment for both young and old
( ) 3. It enables us to see people on the program
( ) 4. It is a substitute for movies
( ) 5. It is a better alternative to comics
( ) 6. It enables us to know more about the world outside our community
( ) 7. It supplies ideas for maintaining a happy marriage
( ) 8. It is useful for learning and enjoying sports
( ) 9.. Other (specify)_______________

48. What are the problems of having television facility in your community?

( ) 1. People may become lazy, staying home watching television all the time
( ) 2. Some TV programs encourage violence and crime
( ) 3. People may wish to leave the community to pursue new ways of life
( ) 4. People may be frustrated after knowing so many new things on TV but cannot get them
( ) 5. Other (specify)_______________

FREE TIME ACTIVITIES

49. Every day, after school, how much free time do you have?

( ) 1. 0 - 2 hours
( ) 2. 3 - 4 hours
( ) 3. 5 - 6 hours
( ) 4. 7 hours and over

50. How do you spend your free time each day?

( ) 1. Listening to radio
( ) 2. Reading comics
( ) 3. Playing pool
( ) 4. Hanging around the Bay Store
( ) 5. Visiting friends or relatives
( ) 6. Smoking
( ) 7. Playing cards
( ) 8. Playing with the telephone
( ) 9. Helping parents get water from the tap
( ) 10. Other (specify_______________

51. With whom do you spend your free time?

( ) 1. Alone
( ) 2. With my best friend only
( ) 3. With friends or relatives
( ) 4. With family members
( ) 5. Other (specify)_______________

59. How much education does he/she think he/she should have?

( ) 1. 0 - Grade 3
( ) 2. Grade 4 - 6
( ) 3. Grade 7 - 9
( ) 4. Some senior high school
( ) 5. High school
( ) 6. Some vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 7. Vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 8. Some university
( ) 9. University

CHURCH

60. Which church do you belong to?

( ) 1. None
( ) 2. United Church
( ) 3. Methodist Church
( ) 4. Roman Catholic Church
( ) 5. Pentecostal Church
( ) 6. Anglican Church
( ) 7. Other (specify)____________________

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

54. How would you evaluate the quality of education you are receiving?

( ) 1. Very Good
( ) 2. Good
( ) 3. Fair
( ) 4. Poor
( ) 5. Very poor

55. How much education do you think a person should have?

( ) 1. 0 - Grade 3
( ) 2. Grade 4 - 6
( ) 3. Grade 7 - 9
( ) 4. Some senior high school
( ) 5. High school
( ) 6. Some vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 7. Vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 8. Some university
( ) 9. University

56. How much education do you think you should have?

( ) 1. 0 - Grade 3
( ) 2. Grade 4 - 6
( ) 3. Grade 7 - 9
( ) 4. Some senior high school
( ) 5. High school
( ) 6. Some vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 7. Vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 8. Some university
( ) 9. University

57. What type of work do you want to do for a living?

( ) 1. Laborer or service (e.g., construction worker, janitor, cook, nurses' aide)
( ) 2. Skill worker (e.g. carpenter, auto mechanic, plumber, etc.)
( ) 3. Clerical or sales (e.g., secretary, sales clerk, etc.)
( ) 4. Fishing, hunting or trapping
( ) 5. Professional (e.g., teacher, doctor, etc.)
( ) 6. Other (specify)________________________
( ) Not working at this time

58. Is your best friend going to school?

( ) 1. Yes
( ) 2. No, he/she is working full-time
( ) 3. No. he/she is working part-time
( ) 4. No, he/she is looking for a job
( ) 5. No, he/she is not working at this time
( ) 6. Other (specify)________________________

59. How much education does he/she think he/she should have?

( ) 1. 0 - Grade 3
( ) 2. Grade 4 - 6
( ) 3. Grade 7 - 9
( ) 4. Some senior high school
( ) 5. High school
( ) 6. Some vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 7. Vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 8. Some university
( ) 9. University

CHURCH

60. Which church do you belong to?

( ) 1. None
( ) 2. United Church
( ) 3. Methodist Church
( ) 4. Roman Catholic Church
( ) 5. Pentecostal Church
( ) 6. Anglican Church
( ) 7. Other (specify)__________________

61. How often do you attend church services?

( ) 1. Never
( ) 2. Less than once a week
( ) 3. Once a week
( ) 4. More than once a week

62. Does your church offer any of these activities?

( ) 1. Choir
( ) 2. Bible study group
( ) 3. Sunday school
( ) 4. Bingo games
( ) 5. Youth groups
( ) 6. Picnics
( ) 7. Camping
( ) 8. Other (specify)__________________

63. Which of these activities do you participate in?

( ) 1. None
( ) 2. Choir
( ) 3. Bible study goup
( ) 4. Sunday school
( ) 5. Bingo games
( ) 6. Youth groups
( ) 7. Picnics or camping
( ) 8. Other (specify)__________________

64. What other organized activities do you participate in?

( ) 1. Guides/Brownies, Scouts/Cubs
( ) 2. Red Cross
( ) 3. Hockey team
( ) 4. Other (specify) ____________

PERSONAL INFORMATION

65. What grade are you in?

( ) 1. Grade 8 or under
( ) 2. Grade 9
( ) 3. Grade 10 or over

66. How old were you on your last birthday?

( ) 1. Age 13 or under
( ) 2. Age 14
( ) 3. Age 15
( ) 4. Age 16 or over

67. Sex:

( ) 1. Male
( ) 2. Female

68. Ethnic background:

( ) 1. Cree
( ) 2. Metis
( ) 3. Euro-Canadian
( ) 4. Other (specify)

69. What languages do you read?

( ) 1. English
( ) 2. Cree
( ) 3. French
( ) 4. English and French
( ) 5. English and Cree
( ) 6. French and Cree
( ) 7. French, English and Cree
( ) 8. Other (specify) ____________
( ) 9. None

70. What languages do you write?

( ) 1. English
( ) 2. Cree
( ) 3. French
( ) 4. English and French
( ) 5. English and Cree
( ) 6. French and Cree
( ) 7. French, English and Cree
( ) 8. Other (specify) ____________
( ) 9. None

71. What language do you speak most often in your home?

( ) 1. English
( ) 2. Cree
( ) 3. French
( ) 4. Other (specify) ____________

72. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

( ) 1. One
( ) 2. Two
( ) 3. Three
( ) 4. Four
( ) 5. Five
( ) 6. Six
( ) 7. Seven
( ) 8. Eight or more

73. Do you live with:

( ) 1. Your parents
( ) 2. One parent only
( ) 3. Grand parents
( ) 4. Other relatives
( ) 5. Parents and grand parents
( ) 6. Foster parents
( ) 7. Other (specify) ____________

74. What is the highest grade completed by your father?

( ) 1. 0 to Grade 3
( ) 2. Grade 4 - 6
( ) 3. Grade 7 - 9
( ) 4. Some senior high school
( ) 5. High School
( ) 6. Some vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 7. Vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 8. Some university
( ) 9. University

75. What is the highest grade completed by your mother?

( ) 1. 0 to Grade 3
( ) 2. Grade 4 - 6
( ) 3. Grade 7 - 9
( ) 4. Some senior high school
( ) 5. High School
( ) 6. Some vocational, technical or trade school
( ) 7. Vocational technical or trade school
( ) 8. Some university
( ) 9. University

76. What type of work does your father do for a living?

( ) 1. Laborer or service (construction worker, janitor, cook)
( ) 2. Skill worker (carpenter, auto mechanic, plumber)
( ) 3. Clerical or sales (salesman)
( ) 4. Fishing, hunting or trapping
( ) 5. Professional (teacher, doctor)
( ) 6. Other (specify)
( ) 7. Not working at this time

77. How do you like your father's job?

( ) 1. Very much
( ) 2. Somewhat
( ) 3. Not very much
( ) 4. Not at all

78. What type of work does your mother do for a living?

( ) 1. Laborer or service (e.g., cleaning woman, nurse's aide, laundress)
( ) 2. Skill worker (e.g. nurse, tailor)
( ) 3. Clerical or sales (e.g. secretary, sales clerk)
( ) 4. Fishing, hunting or farming
( ) 5. Professional (e.g. teacher, doctor)
( ) 6. Housewife
( ) 7. Other (specify)________________
( ) 8. Not working at this time?

79. How do you like your mother's job?

( ) 1. Very much
( ) 2. Somewhat
( ) 3. Not very much
( ) 4. Not at all

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by

Jack Steinbring

CHAPTER 15

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by

Jack Steinbring

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

By: Jack Steinbring

The essential conveyance of this work, started so many years ago, is the penetration of the cultural idiom in its interaction with television. Every step in the process of this interaction has been carefully examined under the best controls possible. Years before television reached one community, and many months before it reached another, field workers had amassed extensive data on the ethnology, psychology, sociology and economy. Field workers were present when the first signals reached these communities, and they returned many times through the following years to administer clinically designed tests to determine the deep and subtle changes that were taking place. The very fact of a cultural emphasis in this study makes the philosophical persuasion of it humanistic. It is concerned with people and their aspirations, employing as we have stated before, the emic principle. In this approach, we are at some odds with those whose approach denies the governance of the idiom and applies empirical designs which discount (or set aside) the self-statements of non-Western populations. Our position on this is that the self-statements are a special kind of truth, not always truth according to scientific objectives, but a "truth of belief" from which all behaviours flow. Thus Western man may choose not to believe that one's soul may take flight and communicate with other souls, or that animals may have souls like man, or that one may transform itself into the other. To the emic analyst, this does not matter. What is believed is the essential thing, because this alone provides the fullest understanding of the cross-cultural situation. It also provides, in its practical fallout, the basis for introducing the concept of self-determination in the practical process of stress resolution. This is because it is a perfect measure of identity. The analytical preservation of identity provides for continuity, all the way from test design to policy development. The combination of these concepts has been the organizing thesis of this work, and it holds the promise of providing an unusually consistent base for all further work related to our findings. We do not deny its imperfections, but we are convinced, from the eight years of field-based research in this project, that no other would have achieved the depth we sought - or would finally be able to apply that depth of understanding to the resolution of human stress.

Our main conclusion, that culture does, in fact, have a profound effect upon non-Western experience with television, leads to many other conclusions, and serves to explain phenomena not otherwise explicable. How for example, could one explain the preoccupation by non-literate Northern Ojibwa hunters, barely able to understand English, with the ultra-urban complexities of "Edge of Night?" Or, the fear and rejection by some traditionalists of "Kermit the Frog?" Still further, how are we to explain the disgust and outright horror expressed over explicit scenes of childbirth, or menstrual napkin commercials? What too has compelled one of the world's most passive people to react with utterly unprecedented assertiveness in their attempts to get a "talk show" canceled? Throughout our work, examples like this have been commonplace, and they have all been successfully dealt with through the application of cultural principles.

Nowadays in the social sciences, if a truly revealing look into human motivation is required, the employment of psychological studies becomes paramount. Fortunately, it had long been known that culture and psychology were inseparable and that the models fixed within Western society were not generally operable in other cultural contexts. This was a "given", in our work and it was much enhanced by the fact that an historic leader in psychological anthropology, A.I.Irving Hallowell, had spent much of his career studying the very populations of our research region. In keeping with his findings, along with our general belief in the nature of this dimension of analysis, and the probable expectations of the social research component of the communications community, these kinds of studies have dominated our work. They may be seen to be a specialization within the broader focus of the cultural-emic approach. They have achieved an empirical foundation upon which to develop similar studies anywhere.

We find, in fact, that it is the complex interaction of psychology and culture, the emotions as they relate to the value system, which produces the identity caught in the intercultural stress of television experience. Only by dealing with the basic elements of this problem can the stress be reduced. Coming to grips with the concept of cultural distance alone is difficult for the urban mind, let alone the highly specific psychological and sociological elements. While anthropologists and social psychologists have built professions based upon such understandings, they have not done well in convincing the power horizons of their society. While we will take up this issue a little later on in a different way, right now we need to see it as "straight" cultural confrontation. All kinds of identity require defense, not just small non-Western segments of mankind. The history of Western culture with its colossal growth in the urban and industrial-technological spheres, and its apparently linked decline in religiosity, has made itself, by such preoccupations, susceptible to agonizing internal moral conflict. In the face of this, Western identity is threatened, and the typical Western defense is dominance and absorption. The defenses run the gamut from raw military force, through economic and commercial activity, to socio-cultural persuasion (sometimes known as propaganda). What is important to remember here is that these identity defenses are ultimately cultural. It is extremely easy to get lost among the minor points of war and economic exploitation. Perhaps it is the ultimate example of not seeing the forest for the trees!

The act of producing and disseminating television programming in Canada was influenced in part by some linguistic factors (French) but not by cultural ones. Thus, Native populations received unmodified, urban-inspired materials which reflected values, beliefs, and behaviours often fundamentally contrasting with that of the indigenous culture. On the Canadian side, a policy was articulated to satisfy the need for "a better knowledge of their place within the Canadian mosaic". This was a bromide which could justify anything, and it was certainly a long way from being Native-inspired. It was convenient to government and other non-Native interests since it would essentially allow (even promote) any and all media extension. There was very little if any Native input. Now, many years later, some Inuit groups are vigorously demanding the removal of satellite receivers which they did not ask for. Throughout the experimental phase they have come to believe that television is damaging their lives. Their hope is for their own Native programming, and they are ardently opposed to such things as the introduction of cable television into the Arctic.

The policy which led to this problem eminates from a dominating and absorptive cultural defense system. It is a form of imperialism, and as such, must deny self-determination. Culture, as an operating concept in intercultural affairs, cannot be used without the application of this principle. The persisting colonialistic stance of "doing what is right for them", or "helping them to join the mainstream of Canadian society " will achieve increasing resistance as indigenous value systems are attacked by the psychologically active content of expanding media.

The first and most basic recommendation we must make is that all future policy relating to media consumption by Native populations be governed by the principle of self-determination. Native people must not just have an "input" into something which has been clearly shown to have an extraordinary effect upon their lives. They must have control over the content. This follows from our emic persuasion. Even if we cannot always empirically demonstrate a cause and effect relationship between some content and negative behaviours, the peoples' belief that such is so has great meaning for them, and the denial of their right to impose control over what they feel to be harmful diminishes their self worth. Sometimes, however, there is absolute empirical evidence of culture-loss (the main source of stress) as in Pereira's findings that television has caused a dramatic breakdown of the Native language.

It has been consistently demonstrated in our studies that those communities having the highest levels of cultural integrity have been the least influenced by television. These are communities which have, by virtue of their integrity, strong defenses. Among these defenses, selectivity is prominent. In fact objectionable material (like golf or talk shows) is ridiculed and tuned out. There is a very healthy "cultural arrogance" in this, probably rooted in the distant past when European "greenhorns" entered the unforgiving environment of Central Canada. Resistance is a positive sign of cultural health and should be officially used as a prime indicator in media policy formulation.

Native programming, obviously, is the practical outgrowth of the ideas we have been expressing. This is already taking place in many parts of Canada, and in a variety of ways. The employment of Native persons in both the organizing and managerial levels, as well as in the acting roles, is essential to the development of sound Native programming. Vigorous research into the more subtle elements of staffing and content policy must be initiated immediately to avoid geographic and other kinds of problems which might detract from long term effectiveness.

Among the key problems which must be considered in the initiation of large scale Native programming is variation in program preference. In eastern Manitoba in the 1960's, everyone loved "Don Messers' Jubilee". This was because step dancing, the jig, and fiddling had assumed culturally valued roles in many of the Native bands - sometimes to the extent of actually involving supernaturalism. It was a sad day for these people when some remote decision was made to cancel the show "because it was too old fashioned". Certainly there were many Native communities in other regions that did not mourn the loss. And there were probably some within those bands which felt the loss most who didn't care either. This points up two kinds of variation: Culture-regional and familial. In something like Don Messer's Jubilee, we are facing variations frequently governed by acculturation. Some people of Native background no longer cherish traditional values, and have come to involve themselves in essentially urban experience. We may find these people unconcerned about violence, sexuality, materialism, or the loss of "old standbys", At the other end of this spectrum we may find the overzealous traditionalist who fires a high powered rifle into his television set as his final statement on the content. Between these poles lie most of the Native people. It is essential that the extremes not dominate Native programming policy. Highly sensitive efforts, conditioned by intensive research, must be made to insure an equitable balance in the all-critical decision-making process. In this, formal Western education should not be seen as an important priority. Formal Western education has been a fundamentally acculturating experience for all but few. Now, television may be assuming equal force in acculturation. If over-rapid acculturation leads to dysfunction and anomie (as almost all investigators believe), control over television in cross-cultural situations becomes vital to the maintenance of health and welfare.

The research leading to this report has a cultural bias at the level of psychological detail. Thus, certain parts of our clinical findings on television influence are predicated upon Algonkian data. We do not suggest for example, that aggression responses to the various tests we administered would be exactly similar among people of Athabascan, Iroquois, or Salishan cultural backgrounds. While we know that culture itself will order perception and utilization, we cannot predict the exact way in which it will do so. So far, in Canada, only Algonkians and some Inuit have been examined at the level of detail we prefer. This means that similar investigations should be undertaken in other cultural regions in order to establish a base for evaluating the impact of media content - essential to sensitive program development. Certain generalizations, as brought out in the introduction will, however, be possible for all areas.

Among others, these would include the role of dreaming, soul flight, and television reality. The generally stoic personality of North American populations will also be reflected in test responses dealing with aggression. As brought out in the introduction and elsewhere in this report, these and many other areas of response will vary only in detail and by degree.

It is a well known fact that assertiveness varies greatly from one cultural group to another. This may become translated into varying responses to content. Groups characterized by greater self-restraint may be less expressive, quite especially about negative aspects. Thus, when strong objections to something are expressed by these people, it should be doubly persuasive to decision makers. On the other hand, where assertiveness is the rule, more detailed tests should be administered to gain depth.

Upon the establishment of equitable and effective general means to implement Native programming, some guides may already seem to be emerging. A working rule might be the avoidance of any programming which might be construed as expressly promoting urbanization. At one time, for example, urban migration for Native people was openly advocated by Canadian politicians. In all probability, measures will be recommended for the elimination of commercials. While urban populations have learned to suffer through these, knowing they might not otherwise have some of the programs they like, Native people are offended, misled, and hurt by them. Our studies have shown significant relationships between television commercials and product consumption in areas where the products may be both highly expensive and inappropriate. Goldsen (1978) recently pointed to a case where a government-declared dangerous toy was still being sold in a remote settlement, long after its being officially banned. This kind of gap alone makes it advisable that special consideration be accorded the whole problem of commercials in areas of essentially Native population.

There is a need for Native language programming and there is an excellent, but limited, precedent for this in CBC Radio. News and messages at specific times have always been followed in the appropriate Native language by many living in remote band localities. These have both practical value, and symbolic satisfaction. Clearly, the announcer almost always must be a Native person. This becomes a source of pride. Chainsaws stop and babies are soothed as everyone gathers to listen. Even if the messages are in English, they pertain to the people, and the practical nature and satisfaction are hardly any less for that.

Community television would, of course, insure Native language programming in remote communities. At this time, some communities such as Red Sucker Lake in Manitoba have satellite receivers and local rebroadcast equipment which can be used for village transmissions. Far too little research has been done on these situations, both in terms of the impact of massive general programming (up to 50 channels), and the direction and use of local electronic resources. There is some data on CB units on traplines, not unlike the use of similar equipment by Lapp reindeer herders. Perhaps, where these devices have been successfully integrated, and the people have come to want more elaborate communications, the prospect of local television could be explored. In these, and any other cross-cultural situation, the participant observer's long term residential approach is the only effective one.

While our overall recommendations may be neatly put as a change in overall policy to one of self-determination, the implementation of such a policy will not be unopposed.

The entire field of communications is itself divided between those involved in the technological and those concerned with the social. While some occasionally stray over the line, the division is itself quite clear, both in academics and in government. This creates a harsh conflict of interests between those dedicated to electronic media elaboration and expansion, and those mindful of the social and psychological consequences of uncontrolled expansion. The problem becomes enormously complicated by the fact that commercial and industrial interests have developed a great dependency upon media development and expansion. Sometimes these are inextricably woven into government. Also, communication research in many major institutions is centered on the "effectiveness" of the media. This boils down to measuring response, and making "positive" response stronger. Thus, the commercial-industrial interests, because of the now historic global power of telecommunications, subtly dominate the activity of institutions capable of conducting the most sophisticated research. The armies of people working for these interests are trained in them. Not long ago a senior communications professor described to us the perfection by a private company of a process of image formation, timing and control which made a viewer unconsciously come to believe that he himself had come up independently with a certain idea. To this he added the fact that "University people won't even be reading about this research for another five years". It may not be coincidental that educational institutions not having communications departments often place such specialists in departments of "Commerce" or "Administrative Studies". There are numerous examples of this dichotomy throughout the field of telecommunications.

Before an enlightened departure into socioculturally adjusted media in Canada is possible, assurances must be developed that commercial-industrial interests, or technological (hardware) experiments do not significantly influence social policy.

REFERENCES

Goldsen, Rose 1978	Ithaca Times, vol. 1, no. 25, Dec. 7.

APPENDIX

SAULTEAUX ETHNOMUSICOLOGY
AND THE
BACKGROUND MUSIC OF T.V. SOAP OPERAS:
A COGNITIVE STUDY OF T.V. ADOPTION
IN A
MANITOBA RESERVE

BY

SALLY DAVIDSON
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to determine how strongly the effects of music elicit emotional responses from Ojibwa populations; and more explicitly to determine whether the music associated with the television show entitled "The Edge of Night" has some bearing upon its ultimate appeal to a Saulteaux band in the Manitoba Interlake.

INTRODUCTION:

It has been observed over the past two years that two daytime television shows have been more highly favoured than others at the Jackhead Indian Reserve in Manitoba. The two programs are "Edge of Night" and "Family Court" (Steinbring 1974, personal communication). These two shows occur in successive order, and may create a mood which is enjoyable. Professor Steinbring distinguished only a few responses to inquiries about motivation. One informant stated that the "Edge of Night" was "funny", although to the average city viewer the soap opera appears to be a tragic melodrama which elicits sympathy and compassion for the misfortunes of the players. This may tie in with the fact that Ojibwa humor often deals with the hardships of others. Another ardent viewer said that the "ghosts" were the attractive feature, even though the show rarely presents any evidence of the supernatural. In short, it is difficult to say why these people like the show. The problem here is to discern whether the music in Edge of Night evokes some emotional consequences which attract Native viewers even though they cannot always comprehend the story line. It may be that the music creates an atmosphere of "ghosts", and it certainly is an obvious fact that the musical interludes are plugged into the show at those moments which are intended to be psychological stress points, as will be expanded upon later.

The main problems of this paper then will be to determine the effects of the music included in the show, to look into its relationship to the traditional music of the Indians, and to decide whether it indeed creates a force strong enough to captivate the Native viewer's attention more so than it might some city viewer.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MUSIC:

Music very definitely does have profound effects on listeners, and fairly extensive research has been done on this topic. The hearing of music can be said to be a response to a stimulus. With regard to our topic, an interesting statement made by psychologist C.E. Seashore may be relevant. He says: "What a man shall hear in music depends on what he is" (Seashore 1938: 382). Could this be indicative that there is some condition in Saulteaux life which leads them to be affected by the music in Edge of Night?

THE MUSIC ASSOCIATED WITH THE "EDGE OF NIGHT":

Edge of Night begins with a piano-organ-harp melody of a melodramatic nature, while a voice booms out the title of the show. The harp adds an aura of mystique and "ghostliness", while the organ and piano combine to produce a rather melancholy mood. The only other music involved with the show is spliced in at intervals where a tense situation occurs. These psychological stress points would probably not be so effectively conveyed if it were not for the musical accompaniment, and the music almost inevitably follows a set pattern. The interlude begins on a distant, far-away sounding tone with little intensity. As the conversation on the show climaxes, or comes to the "punch line", so too does the music, by increasing in intensity and volume. Thus when the dialogue reaches a climactic point, the music does so as well, by means of an intense crescendo. This generation of increasing intensity sometimes occurs on one note which is merely raised in volume. More frequently however, the stress points in the program will be associated with a beginning on the distant, far-away note, and crescendoing on a dischordant lower tone. Often the pitch of the initial note will be held at a steady level when two individuals on the show are locked in a gaze, then drop to the lower tonal dischord at a more intense volume. This feature is difficult to explain in terms which will be readily understood by someone not versed in musicological terminology. Nonetheless, the point to be made here is this: a tremendous amount of emotional impact is conveyed in a communication mechanism of a non-verbal nature, and there is a definite effect upon a listener.

NATIVE MUSIC:

One generalization which can be made regarding Native music is that unlike Western music it is very seldom of a polyphonic nature. That is to say that it is usually done with all parts (voice and instruments) playing the same notes. Native cultures which lack polyphony and harmony often find orchestra music merely a jumble of unattractive sounds. "One investigator, convinced that the tribespeople he was studying should hear some of Beethoven's music, played it for them on his phonograph. He reports that the people stopped what they were doing, and after a moment of stunned silence, fled into the forest " (Taylor 1969: 141).

Traditional music of non-Western peoples seems to be closely allied and co-ordinated with the environment of the group. "All people, in no matter what culture, must be able to place their music firmly in the context of the totality of their beliefs, experiences and activities, for without such ties music cannot exist" (Merriam 1955: 3). It is vital that we recognize the fact that by far the greatest percentage of North American Native music is viewed by the Indians as having its roots in the supernatural sphere. In general, various groups tend to categorize music into three classes: that which is "real" (of supernatural origin); that which is made up by conscious processes of creation by an individual; and those pieces which are borrowed from other groups. Music is seen as being able to unleash power, but as far as the author could determine, researchers have been unable to find out from any Natives answers as to why music exists. They just tend to agree that when most people hear music they become happier.

Every Native song seems to fit into a special category and is seen as having a definite purpose. It is true that in most tribes people seem to recognize these distinctions and feel that if any new song was introduced to them, they would immediately know what category it was intended to fit into. One Flathead Indian summed up the general picture of the North American Indian music by saying "any song made for one kind of doings, that's where you sing it" (Merriam 1967: 43).

In any reports which the author has come across, no person questioned as to whether his music was "beautiful" ever agreed that it was.

> On query as to whether songs are "pretty", my informant had no real response and clearly had not considered the matter as such. When pressed he said "I don't know". He said that he had noticed that some songs were nicer than others; "When we sing some songs, everybody dances - when we sing others, not so many dance."
> Reporter: "But is this the same thing as being pretty?"
> Informant: "No."
> (Merriam 1967: 44)

Natives never seem to want to verbalize about their music. They see no need to do so, and would rather just accept its presence.

Music is seen as being a functional phenomenon, which is used as an integral part of other non-musical activities, and is generally valued more for its magical powers than for any aesthetic component. All North American Indian music is characterized as predominantly descending from higher to lower pitch, either in a gradual progression or in sharp terraces.

Edge of Night music is inevitably of this pattern.

It is interesting to note that Natives tend to favour extremely short music pieces, such as those lasting a mere fifteen to twenty seconds. Certainly very few traditional pieces last longer than three minutes, and songs of this length or longer are generally composed of a group of short songs which have been strung together. With regard to the Edge of Night, it should be recalled that all the music associated with the show occurs in the form of short interludes, never over thirty seconds or so in duration.

OJIBWA MUSIC:

Music is an integral part of Ojibwa life and is one of their greatest pleasures. Every phase of life is expressed in their songs. While researching this topic, one fact was immediately manifest. Most of their music is believed to be of supernatural creation, and is usually referred to as having arisen out of dreams. "Investigation of the origin and use of Chippewa songs leads to the conclusion that most of them are connected, either directly or indirectly, with the idea of reliance on supernatural help" (Densmore 1913: 15). This is extremely interesting for the purposes of this paper, as it is very evident at once to any listener that the music on the Edge of Night very definitely possesses what amounts to the same sort of spiritual, dreamlike qualities. It can be stated then, with a fair amount of certainty that this might be a trait which the Ojibwa would find attractive.

The melody is unquestionably the aspect of music which is the most important to the Ojibwa, as compared to the word content of a song. "The idea is the important thing, and that is firmly connected with the melody in the minds of the Indians" (ibid: 2). This is a significant statement, as it confirms the hypothesis that melodic pieces are seen by the Natives as being capable of conveying very definite thoughts. The author postulates that Ojibwa Native people may be more emotionally affected by music than is the average Western person. They can be made to feel happy or sad simply by hearing the appropriate kind of music, which may not necessarily correspond to what WE would classify as such.

With regard to the physical components of their own traditional music, many easily observed traits can be noticed at once. Vibrato tones seem to be especially pleasing to them (tones which waver at one tone, or between two tones) and their music shows a high frequency of "descending intervals of a minor third" (Densmore). Music in general employs a minor key to connect with the idea of sadness, and Ojibwa music is no exception, even though few songs of a sorrowful nature are to be found in their repertoire.* Out of the 340 songs analysed by Densmore in her 1910 publication, only 14% are songs of sadness, while 143/340 contained minor tonalities. Among thirty

---

* The aforementioned "descending intervals" on the minor are usually found inserted within other songs built on a major tonality.

"love songs" eleven, or over 30% are songs of sadness and are minor in tonality. Of the few (12) unclassified songs, only one contains the idea of distress and is minor in tonality. Thus it can be concluded that, while most of their songs are major in tonality, minor tonality is used without exception in songs directly expressing sadness, distress or uncertainty. As Densmore (1913: 17) states: "These observations may have a bearing on the further study of the psychology of Indian song". It is difficult to assess this aspect in terms of the strange organ/piano music in Edge of Night. The music on the soap opera cannot properly be termed as being expressive of real "sadness", yet does seem to be constructed on minor keys to some degree. Firstly, it may be possible to determine just what the "sad" songs of the Ojibwa refer to. As mentioned above, a third of their love songs are minor keyed "sad" songs. This group marks a distinct phase in the development of music as a means of expression, and unlike ALL the other types of song groups, the lyrics will often continue from beginning to end without repetitions of certain phrases (Densmore 1910: 148). Densmore proposes that these words may be often of an impromptu nature, and made up by a singer as he follows a melodic line. They are sung in a special nasal tone and "resemble the cries of an animal; yet the intervals are given almost as accurately as where a direct singing tone is used" (ibid: 148).

Mide songs are another group which may be relevant for our purposes. The Midewiwin (Grand Medicine Society) is the Native religion of the Ojibwa, teaching that long life is achieved by goodness and that evil will inevitably take its toll on an offender. Music is an integral and very essential part of this religion, and the Mide songs "represent the musical expression of religious ideas" (Densmore 1910: 14). It is interesting to note that it is the melody which is vital here in conveying the required ideas, the words being forced into coordination with the melody. Meaningless syllables are often interjected here, a trait which is common in the Native music of other religious organizations such as the Peyote Cult. Often these untranslateable syllables will be seen as having strange occult significance to an instructed member of the Midewiwin. A fascinating feature associated with Mide songs is the fact that they are all recorded in mnemonics on birch bark sheets, which act as records to preserve the essential idea of a song. Such mnemonics are known to have been used traditionally by the Jackhead Saulteaux.

The purposes of Mide songs are very much associated with pleas for supernatural aid, curing, initiations and ceremonial dancing, and are meant to bring results from "spirit powers". Structurally then, it might be possible to distinguish certain traits of the musical group as a whole which one could compare with the occult, spiritual qualities present in Edge of Night background music.

The rhythm associated with Mide songs is especially peculiar in those intended to produce magic and supernatural results. A regular steady rhythm is used to produce certain effects such as a trance, and an irregular beat is used to hold the attention of the listener. The latter form (definitely characteristic of Edge of Night music) is seen as being able to "control the person" (Densmore). Here is a very intriguing correlation indeed!

Densmore also reports that in many of these songs there is no repetition of a set pattern, but rather that the entire song constitutes a rhythmic unit. This is yet another feature which the author noted for the Edge of Night. The Mide songs representing sadness are once again built around minor tonalities.

Another distinct group of Chippewa songs is labeled Dream Songs. The songs in this group are not composed, but rather are said to "Come to the mind of the Indian when he was in a dream" (Densmore 1913: 37). These songs are thus related to the renowned "Vision Quest" of the Ojibwa. It was with relation to this phenomenon that the author discovered the most interesting parallel between the Ojibwa "spiritual" music and the mysterious ghostly music associated with the Edge of Night.

It is difficult for us to really comprehend the Vision Quest. Our best alternative is to: "accept his statement that by isolation and fasting he was able to induce a certain condition in which he 'saw a vision' and composed a song" (Densmore 1913: 37). (ibid: 37). Fasting is, to the Indian, a condition which is vital in order to be able to compose certain types of music. Densmore mentions that when a person enters into this condition of inanition (emptiness from want of nutrition), the brain will function abnormally in a manner similar to that produced by narcotic stimulants. The Native experiencing the vision will normally express his "vision of Manido" in the form of a song. Usually the vision itself is said to take the form of a bird or animal, or sometimes a tree. Two quotes from a Chippewa man upon his return from a vision quest were: "I am repeating the song which I heard the trees singing", and, "I am repeating the song which the crows sang" (ibid 37). Sixteen percent of the Dream Songs relate to flight through the air.

To the Indian, a "vision" was the most desirable thing that could happen, and was much more valuable than material possessions. Supernatural aid could be gotten which would lead him towards a good life. The song which he received was one of the means by which he summoned that aid whenever he needed it.

Dream songs are generally not sad in nature, and therefore a fairly high percentage of them are built on major tones (76%)*. When comparing Dream Songs with other song groups among the Chippewa, an unusual feature can be noticed. This is the fact that 65% of the Dream Songs are harmonic in feeling - harmony being a rare occurrence in almost all forms of Native music. Most Native music is totally monotonic, a fact which initially led the author to draw the somewhat erroneous conclusion that harmony music such as that present in the Edge of Night might be unappealing to the Ojibwa. It can now be seen that harmony (different voices and instruments playing different notes) does have its place in Ojibwa music, and is an integral part of Dream Songs attained through visions. The dischords which occasionally crop up in Edge of Night however are not an integral feature of any Chippewa song group.

---

* Recall that 33% of the Love Songs were minor and denoted sadness.

The musical innuendoes interjected at stress points in Edge of Night almost inevitably begin with a downward progression from the dominant to tonic notes. That is to say that the music begins on the highest note and descends to a lower tone. The reverse is very rarely true, as this feature tends to produce tenseness and suspense in a listener. It is very intriguing to note that 77% of Dream Songs follow this exact pattern of downward progression (the highest percentage of any Chippewa song group.)

Densmore fails to note this one vital feature with regard to Dream Songs and Vision Quest revelations, in conjunction with the music in Edge of Night. This is the fact that music presented through visions is always heard initially from far away, crescendoing as it comes closer to the receiver. In other words, the music will unfold gradually to the Native, as the vision itself is revealed. It will begin by sounding distant and remote, and as the "spirit" advances, and the vision climaxes, the music will coincidingly reach a peak of volume, frequency and intensity. This element of distance is common to all such experiences (Merriam 1967: 9), and is IDENTICAL to that found in Edge of Night at the psychological stress points. The music begins with a thin, distant organ note as the conversation in the program begins to take on a stressful, tensionous quality. As the dialogue advances towards a climactic level, and as psychological pressure is beginning to peak, the musical pitch accordingly intensifies and increases in volume. When the "punch line" is delivered, and the faces of the actors take on their usual pained expressions, the music, without fail, crescendos in an intense burst of sound. This is extremely important to the mood which is intended to be conveyed and its similarity to that experienced in the documented music of the Vision Quest is striking. "The most reasonable explanation for this patterning seems to be that the distance factor is a symbolic reflection of the actual process of composition" (Merriam 1967: 9).

CONCLUSION:

This paper was designed to determine how strongly the effects of certain kinds of music elicit emotional responses from Ojibwa Indians, and to ultimately determine whether the music associated with the Edge of Night might have some bearing upon its apparent appeal to the Natives at the Jackhead Indian Reserve. The author proposes, on the basis of this paper, that this music most likely does indeed have profound and manifest effects on the Ojibwa viewer, although these are probably at a level more subconscious than conscious. The music combines with other elements to produce a mood which is very enjoyable to these Natives, and this may stem from the fact that it is in many ways comparable to their own traditional musical styles - in both physical components and interpreted meanings. Many Indian songs, for example, notably the Dream Songs, are intended to exert a strong mental influence and are seen as being direct communications from the world beyond. Music is thus seen as being an indispensible factor in obtaining desired results from the super-natural - a factor which may account for a Jackhead Native referring to the Edge of Night as consisting of "ghosts".

When discussing music, one must inevitably fall back on psychology, for without it one cannot discuss perception, feeling, thinking, or sensations. Hence the short chapter on the psychology of music, which basically put forth the idea that music definitely does convey explicit notions and images.

Aesthetically speaking the Native approach to music is very much different from our own, and individual composition has very little value as a source of music. There is, then, a very definite lack of purposeful intent to create something aesthetic. This is understandable as it must be remembered that to the Indians, music was a creation of the Gods, who sent it down to them by supernatural means. Merriam brings up a provocative question: (1967:44):

> "The problem here is that in a culture which does not abstract music from its context, we have no way of knowing whether it is the music or the situation represented by the music which causes emotion...."

In Western culture, it can be seen that music itself creates the emotion, and not the context (necessarily) in which it occurs. The Saulteaux are definitely emotional with regards to their music, and to them a minor key is sad itself no matter what context it is used in. This feature can, then very definitely be proposed as another probable explanation as to why the people enjoy Edge of Night - they cannot abstract the music away from the context of the show, and henceforth react to the combination of the two elements, which itself may produce a catalytic stimulus leading to emotional reactions. There is fascinating theoretical potential in this!

In beginning the research for this paper, the author spent many hours watching the Edge of Night and trying to discover a feature in the associated music which would tie in with something attractive to the Ojibwa in their own music. The results of this initial attempt were unsuccessful, as all indications seemed to point towards the idea that the music interjections on the show would be unattractive to the Saulteaux. Densmore reported, for example that

> "...spontaneous outbursts of melody,
> giving rise to either joy or sorrow
> does NOT characterize Chippewa songs;
> indeed the nature of the songs is more
> frequently objective than subjective,
> more often connected with accomplishment
> than with self-expression."(1913: 17)

Taylor observed that polyphonic pieces were generally not appealing to Native peoples, and dischords such as those encountered in Edge of Night were not noted for any Ojibwa music. These sorts of discoveries then, initially led the author to believe that the music would not be of an appealing nature. Then, however, the problem became clear. When researching this topic, one naturally listens to the actual sounds or tones of the music. The vital features are found to be intensity, volume, frequency, pitch and key. On the basis of these, it can be confidently hypothesized that there is a correlation present.

The most noteworthy feature here of course is the definite parallel between the Edge of Night music and the Vision Quest songs, in both structure and effect upon the listeners. To the Saulteaux the acquisition of songs in visions carries great value, and in past times was an important part in the experiences of most men. "Vision" composition was seen as distinctly more valuable than conscious composition, and the people would often stress the fact that if a man returned from a vision quest without receiving a vision, and made up a song simply to avoid being dishonoured, everyone would immediately recognize that such a song was of conscious creation. Many tribes recognize only music created in dreams and do not admit to conscious creation at all (Nettl 1956: 15). More recently, in post-contact times, the Ojibwa have fused fiddling with the Vision Quest. In this an adolescent upon the quest would wait for a vision in which he would learn to play the violin (Steinbring: 1974). The author would thus propose that the incredible similarities between Vision Quest songs, and Edge of Night music are indeed relevant to Native interpretation of the show. It should also be noted here that present day Ojibwa find Christian hymn music attractive, and Edge of Night music is very reminiscent of this.

Thus, to sum up, many interesting features can be seen to correlate here, where none were immediately discernible. The author feels that a definite relationship can be conclusively stated. Hopefully further research will illuminate the processes by which this correlation develops.

Davidson,Sally

1973 "An Ethnomusicological Study on the Diffusion of Peyotism", Student paper,on file,Department of Anthropology,University of Winnipeg.

Densmore,Frances

1910 *Chippewa Music*,Volume I,Bureau of American Ethnology,Washington .

1913 *Chippewa Music*,Volume II,Bureau of American Ethnology,Washington.

Driver,H.E.

1970 *Indians of North America*,University of Chicago Press,Chicago.

Halloran,J.(Editor)

1970 *The Effects of T.V.*,Panther Modern Books, London.

Hoffman,W.J.

1891 "The Midewiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa",*Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*;1884-86, Washington.

Merriam,A.P.

1967 *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No.44.

Nettl,B.

1956 *Music in Primitive Culture*,Harvard University Press,Cambridge.

1964 *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, Collier-McMillan Limited,London .

Ornstein,R.E.

1973 *The Nature of Human Consciousness*, Freeman Company,San Francisco.

Ruwet,N.

1967 "Musicology and Linguistics",International Social Science Journal,Volume XIX,No.I.

Seashore,Carl

1938 Psychology of Music,McGraw-Hill Company, Boston.

Steinbring,J.H.

1974 "Saulteaux of the Lake Winnipeg Drainage", Chapter 22 (provisional),Volume VI,The Sub-Arctic,(J.Helm,editor) Handbook of North American Indians,(in Press),Smithsonian Institution,Washington,D.C.

Taylor,R.B.

1969 Cultural Ways,Allyn and Bacon Incorporated, Boston.